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THE STORY OF AḤIḲAR

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THE STORY OF AḤIḲAR

FROM THE

ARAMAIC, SYRIAC, ARABIC, ARMENIAN,
ETHIOPIC, OLD TURKISH, GREEK
AND SLAVONIC VERSIONS

BY

F. C. CONYBEARE, J. RENDEL HARRIS,

AND

AGNES SMITH LEWIS

SECOND EDITION

ENLARGED AND CORRECTED

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PREFACE

THE story which is here rescued from the Arabian Nights and, with some diffidence, restored to the Biblical Apocrypha, occurs in such various forms and in so many languages that there are few scholars who could edit it single-handed, and I suspect that not many critics will see their way at once through the diverse transmission of the legend to its primitive verity.

In the present edition I have had the assistance of my friends Mrs Lewis and Mr Conybeare in dealing with the linguistic problems; and I am also much indebted to my friend Mr Kennett for his kindness in reading and revising the Syriac sheets. Without their aid, the attempt to edit Aḥiḳar would have been inadequate. As it is, I hope we have been able to clear up some of the difficulties in the text, and to pave the way for its further criticism. The part taken by each of the contributors is indicated by the initials of their names.

J. RENDEL HARRIS

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

THE first edition was nearly exhausted, when the story of Aḥiḳar was again brought into prominence by the discovery of a series of papyrus fragments from the island of Elephantiné, dating from the fifth century before Christ. A new edition of the tale was therefore required. We had further material in the discovery of an old Turkish or Tartar version, with which Mr Conybeare has enriched the present edition. We hope it will be found in every way more correct as well as more complete than the first.

J. RENDEL HARRIS

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THE STORY OF AḤIḲAR AND HIS NEPHEW NADAN

INTRODUCTION

(By J. RENDEL HARRIS)

CHAPTER I

ANTIQUITY OF THE LEGEND

The story of Aḥiḳar has been long known to readers of the Arabian Nights, in the supplement to which it finds a place; but, in common with many other tales which are so liberally heaped up by Scheherezadé, or which have been attached to her collection, it has escaped up to the present time from the close inspection of criticism, into the focus of which it has been slowly drifting; but, as we shall see when we consider the literature that has been quietly accumulating around it during the last few years, there has been an increasing perception that we had in this pretty romance something more and something earlier than a conventional Arab tale of the way in which Ingratitude meets its due, and that the nucleus of the tale, at all events, was Biblical or semi-Biblical in character, however wide the gulf might at first seem between the Hebrew and the Arabic literatures. And it is this perception of the imperfectly recognised debt which one branch of Semitic literature owes to another, and the rectification of ideas involved in the payment of the debt, that furnishes the main motive of the present tract.

But, before plunging into readings and recensions, into the criticism of texts and the discrimination of sources, let us briefly sketch the main features of the story itself.

Aḥiḳar, or, as he is called in Arabic, Ḥayḳar, was the vizier of Sennacherib the king of Assyria, and was famous amongst men for his wisdom in all that concerned morality and politics. But he had a standing grief, in that the wealth and power which he had acquired, and the wisdom which he had attained, could not be perpetuated in a son born of his own body; nor did his prayers to the gods in this regard, nor the successive marriages which he made with sixty wives, result in any male child whom he might bring up as his successor, and to whom he might teach those precepts of virtue which every Sage, from his time onward to the days of Polonius, the Grand Vizier of Denmark, has wished to eternize by gravure thereof upon the youthful mind. At the last his reiterated appeals brought him the reply of the Supreme Power that he should take his sister's son and bring him up as his own offspring[1].

[1] [The folk-lore details of the bringing up of Nadan can be found in the literature of Tibet. Take for instance the detail of the eight nurses.

This seems to be a favourite feature of Eastern story-telling.

The following illustrations from *Tibetan Tales* (von Schiefner and Ralston).

Story of Sūdhana Avadana: p. 52.

'The boy Sudhana was handed over to eight nurses, two to carry him, two to suckle him, two to cleanse him, and two to play with him. As these eight nurses fed him and brought him up on milk, both sweet and curdled, on butter, both fresh and clarified, on butter-foam (Butter-Schaum) and on the best of other things, he shot up rapidly like a lotus in a tank.

By the time he was grown up he was acquainted with reading and writing &c.'

p. 257. Story of Viśvaṇtara.

'To the boy Viśvaṇtara were given eight nurses, two for carrying, two for suckling, two for cleansing and two for playing, who fed him on milk, curdled milk, butter, melted butter, butter-foam, and divers other excellent kinds of nutriment, so that he grew rapidly like a lotus in a pool. When he had grown up and learnt writing, counting, and hand-reckoning &c.'

p. 273. Story of the Fulfilled Prophecy.

'Let him be named Sūryanemi. When he had received that name, he was entrusted to eight nurses, two for carrying, two for suckling, two for cleansing, and two for playing. These eight nurses nourished him with milk, curdled milk, butter, melted butter, butter-foam, and other excellent kinds of food, and he grew apace

The babe who is thus brought on the scene grows into man's estate, becomes tall as a cedar (though a mere bramble in heart), and is in due course introduced to king Sennacherib as the successor-designate of the now aged Aḥiḳar. He is a 'goodly apple, rotten at the core.' The precepts of his uncle have scarcely penetrated the outworks of his mind, and he seems to have grown up without any taste for the proverbial philosophy which Aḥiḳar had so liberally showered upon him.

He commenced to take more than a son's place in the home, and more than a successor's right in the palace. At home he squandered, and at court he intrigued. Finally a suggestion on the part of Aḥiḳar to replace his wilfulness and wantonness by the superior fidelity of a younger brother brought the intrigue to a head. Nadan wrote in Aḥiḳar's name treasonable letters to neighbouring sovereigns, sealed them with Aḥiḳar's seal of office and then betrayed his uncle to the king. When the unfortunate victim of this intrigue is brought before the king, he is unable, through fear and surprise, to utter a word in his own defence, and as he who does not excuse himself, accuses himself more effectively than his slanderers, he is promptly ordered to be done to death.

It happens, however, that Aḥiḳar had on a previous occasion saved from the wrath of his majesty King Sennacherib, the very person who is now directed to cut off the head of Aḥiḳar and throw it a hundred ells from the body. An appeal to his gratitude results in a scheme by which a substitute is found in the condemned cells at Nineveh to undergo the extreme penalty, while Aḥiḳar is safely ensconced in a dark underground excavation beneath his own house, where he is secretly supplied with food, and has occasional visits of consolation from his friend the

like a lotus in a pool. When he had grown up he learnt writing, reckoning, drawing and hand reckoning and the arts and accomplishments.'

p. 279. Story of the two brothers.

'Let him be called Kshemankara. This name was given to him and he was entrusted to eight nurses, two to carry him, two to suckle him, two to cleanse him and two to play with him. These nurses brought him up on various milk products and other excellent forms of nourishment, so that he shot up like a lotus in a pool.']

Executioner. Here he has the maddening experience of hearing the overhead revels of Nadan and his boon companions and the shrieks of his beaten men and maids, and occupies his loneliness by fervent petitions to the Lord for a rectification of his lot, which prayers were, if we may judge by subsequent events, more closely allied to the vindictive Psalms than to the Sermon on the Mount.

The liberation of the imprisoned Vizier comes at length through political dangers in which his wise head and steady hand were needed and not found. The king of Egypt, presuming on the reports of Aḥiḳar's death, sends a series of absurd demands to Sennacherib of a type which Eastern story-tellers affect, demanding answers to fantastic questions and the performance of impossible requirements[1]. *Inter alia*, he will have a castle built in the air and ropes twisted out of sand[2]. All the while he conceals beneath these regal amenities the desire to damage the Assyrian kingdom. Aḥiḳar is now in demand: Assyria has need of him; and the prudent Executioner plays the friend's part by confiding to the king that the Sage is still living. The re-instatement of the buried outcast affords material for the story-teller to dilate upon, as he records how the wasted and withered old man, with nails

[1] [For a parallel, take Wiedemann, *Popular Literature in Ancient Egypt* p. 43: 'The papyrus evidently described an encounter between the rival potentates, Apepi, the Hyksos of Avaris, and the leader of the national party Râ-sakenen (Soknunri) whose dwelling-place was in Upper Egypt. Each propounded to the other riddles and difficult problems, on the solution of which the fate of his adversary was to depend.']

[2] [On the demand to make ropes out of sand, we may compare:

Tales from Tibet (v. Schiefner and Ralston) p. 138.

Story of Mahansadha and Visakha.

'King Janaka sent a messenger to Pūrṇa, the head man of the hill-village Pūrṇakatshtshha with an order to send a rope made of sand one hundred ells long. When the messenger had arrived and communicated the order, Pūrṇa was greatly alarmed. From his birth upwards he had never seen nor heard of such a thing, and he would therefore have to expect a reprimand...Mahanshadha asked him to send for the messenger, saying that he would reply to the king. Thereupon he said to the messenger, "Make known to the people this my request, without forgetting it. As the people of our country are slow-witted, unintelligent and stupid, may it please the king to send an ell of that kind of rope as a pattern, like unto which we will twine a hundred, nay, a thousand ells, and will send them to him"...The king was astonished.'

grown like eagle's talons and hair like the shaggy fells of beasts, is brought back to his place of power.

And here Justice might well step in and avenge on Nadan his intrigue and crime. But the moral action of the story is checked while it is related (it must be admitted that it is done too much in detail) how Aḥiḳar answered all the hard questions and evaded the absurd demands of Pharaoh of Egypt. Then, when Aḥiḳar returns enriched with gifts, and with an enhanced reputation for wisdom, and appears before Sennacherib as the saviour of his country, there comes the moment when Nemesis is on the heels of Nadan, who is delivered up to his uncle, that he may work his vengeance on him.

The wretched young man is tamed by the preliminary discipline of flogging, followed by a black-hole with bread and water, and his uncle enriches his mind with further instruction of a very personal character and application; and when, at the close of this preliminary treatment, Aḥiḳar is preparing the extreme penalty for Nadan, the nephew simplifies the action of the play by swelling up and bursting asunder in a melodramatic manner which satisfies all the instincts of Justice.

Such, in brief, is the story which has come to light in the Arabian Nights and elsewhere. Whether it be actually a part of the recitations by which for 1001 nights the faithful and ingenious Scheherezadé whiled away the impatience and wore out the mistrust and wrath of the Sultan, or whether it is only a supplement to that collection, is not of immediate importance. We may make its acquaintance, if we will, in the Arabian Nights; but the real question which has arisen is the possible transference of the story, either wholly or in part, into the borders of a much older and more reverend literature.

Now it would not at all surprise us, if in the study of a collection so rich in material for the history of religion and so full of folk-lore as the Arabian Nights, we should be able to find instructive parallels by which to elucidate what is obscure in Biblical or Patristic writings.

How full, for example, is such a story as that of the 'Two Sisters who envied their younger Sister' of matter borrowed from the very earliest folk-lore: and all folk-lore is elucidatory of the history of belief. But this general correspondence becomes minute and particular in such a case as the description, in the story alluded to, of the Singing Tree, which is known to the students of Christian Martyrology in the Visions of Perpetua as one of the plants of Paradise.

And not only do the Tales of the 'Thousand Nights and a Night' elucidate ecclesiastical literature, they are themselves also reciprocally elucidated by Biblical and Patristic parallels. To take a single instance, in the story of 'the Linguist Dame, the Duenna and the King's son,' we have one case out of a cycle, in which the asking of hard questions is made a prominent feature. This kind of questioning goes on in the story of the Linguist Dame with some of the same material that is found in the catechising of Aḥiḳar by the Pharaoh of Egypt: that is to say, the matter is recurrent and cyclical. The Biblical parallel, *par excellence*, is, of course, the catechising of Solomon by the Queen of Sheba, which furnished abundant scope to the fertile imaginations of those who desired to speculate on the kind of riddles that might have perplexed the wisest of kings. Among these questions in 'the Linguist Dame' there is one which involves early Syriac Commentaries upon the Bible. The king's son is asked by the lady to inform her 'concerning the Naqus or Gong, who was the inventor thereof and at what time it was first struck in the history of the world?' The riddle is immediately solved by the king's son, who declares that the Naqus was invented by Noah and was first struck by him in the Ark. The answer seems, at first sight, to be almost as perplexing as the question. But a reference to the Syriac Literature helps us: thus in the *Cave of Treasures*, commonly attributed to St Ephrem, we find the directions for making of a Naqus by Noah, and the information is given that he struck it three times in the day, once in the morning, so as to gather the workmen for building the Ark, and at midday for the workmen's

dinner, and at night that they might cease from work. And this legend, which may be found elsewhere in Syriac, underlies the question in the story of 'the Linguist Dame.' So that we need not be surprised that Biblical and Patristic learning should be elucidatory of obscurities in the Arabian Nights, nor that a converse statement should be possible. It is, however, a very little step indeed, to show that the two literatures are mutually explanatory: and what we have proposed is the much more startling thesis that a curious story in the Arabian Nights belongs to the fringe and penumbra of the Biblical Literature itself.

The *a priori* improbability of this thesis may be diminished by observing that there is one proved case of transfer from the Apocrypha of the Old Testament into the body of the Arabian Nights. The story of Susanna is incorporated, canonized we may say, by Scheherezadé, although it is the most demonstrably Greek of all the Biblical Apocrypha. 'Susanna and the Elders' is an antilegomenon in one literature, an accepted part of another. Why, then, may not a somewhat similar statement be true of the story of Aḥiḳar?

Those who were the first students of the book had observed the Biblical colouring of the story. Thus Salhani, who was the publisher of the Arabic text, remarks: 'on y reconnaît le style vulgaire de Syrie et le ton simple, naïf et sans apprêts d'un lecteur de la S^te^ Bible. Plusieurs avis mis dans la bouche du sage Haiqar sont tirés des proverbes de Salomon.' According to Salhani, then, the style of the book is due to the fact that its author was a Bible-reader: he did not suspect, however, that he might have been a Bible-writer.

Burton, also, was much impressed with the same feature. His notes, unpleasant and irritating as they sometimes are, show that he understood that there was Biblical matter in what he was translating: e.g. p. 2, 'The surroundings suggest Jehovah, the tribal deity of the Jews': p. 4, 'This barbarous sentiment [as to the value of the rod in the education of children] is Biblical—inspired': p. 9, 'The simplicity of the old Assyrian correspondence

is here well preserved.' His judgment is, however, surprisingly aberrant and self-contradictory when he declares of the great idol Bel, to whom Aḥiḳar had compared his master Sennacherib, that 'Bel may here represent Hobal, the biggest idol in the Meccan Pantheon, which used to be borne on raids and expeditions to give plunder a religious significance.' This is going out into the wilderness with a vengeance! Were the gods of Nineveh so obscure and so unknown that they had to be displaced in favour of a Meccan fetish?

Kirby, who has added some notes to Burton's great translation, points out that of Aḥiḳar's precepts, many find their parallels, not only in Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, as we might reasonably expect, but in the Havamál of the Elder Edda! It is unfortunate that he did not carry the subject of Biblical parallels a little further, in which case he might actually have found the leading characters in the story of Aḥiḳar existing in the text of the Septuagint!

I believe it was Hoffmann who first carried the discussion of the Biblical element in the story of Aḥiḳar out of mere conjectural resemblances into demonstrated consanguinity. His famous tract entitled *Auszüge aus Syrische Erzählungen von Persischen Märtyrern*, appeared in the VIIth volume of the *Abhandlungen für Künde des Morgenlands* in the year 1880. On p. 182 of this beautiful piece of investigation into the history of the Syrian Church, he points out how frequently the monastic legends of Syria are affected by geographical and historical details derived from the ancient kingdom of Assyria. And he suggests as a special instance, that the story of Aḥiḳar[1], which he had come across in the MSS. of the British Museum, had some connexion with the book of Tobit. Accordingly he points out that the name Aḥiḳar stands in Tob. xi. 17 as Ἀχειχάρ in the so-called B-recension[2] of the Greek text, while the nephew of Aḥiḳar appears in the same place as Ναβάδ. From which he concludes

[1] e.g. in Cod. Add. 7200, our S_1.

[2] Which has nothing, however, to do with Codex B.

that the Syrians of Athor (the Ancient Assyria) made use of the book of Tobit in one of the recensions in which this book has come down to us[1].

If Hoffmann's view had been correct, I suppose we should have been obliged to say that the story of Aḥiḳar was written (in part, at all events) to explain certain allusions in the book of Tobit. These are certainly puzzling enough to the modern reader, who does not see why the dying Tobit should mingle with his last commissions and instructions a reference to the ill-treatment of Aḥiḳar by his adopted son: and what the modern reader feels, is reflected in the manner in which the scribes of the Tobit legend have striven to mend the passages in question by inserting better known and, as they supposed, more appropriate names.

For, to take the leading passage referred to, viz. Tob. xiv. 10, the reader of the English Apocrypha finds the following abrupt transition in the last words of Tobit:

> 'Bury me decently and thy mother with me: but tarry no longer in Nineve. Remember, my son, how Aman handled Achiacarus that brought him up, how out of light he brought him into darkness, and how he rewarded him again: yet Achiacarus was saved, but the other had his reward, for he went down into darkness. Manasses gave alms, and escaped the snares of death which they had set for him: but Aman fell into the snare, and perished.'

The perplexity which this passage has caused to the scribes is evident from the emendation of the proper names. Nadan has been replaced by Aman, and Aḥiḳar by Manasseh! It is fortunate that Achiacarus has not altogether disappeared, or the whole recognition of the characters might have been lost.

We are indebted, then, to Hoffmann for identifying the characters which appear so obscurely in Tobit with those that occur in the story of Aḥiḳar: but he leaves the matter almost as perplexing as he found it to the critical enquirer, who wishes

[1] Hoffmann, *l. c.* pp. 182, 183.

to know, not whether any one has been explaining obscure passages in Tobit, so much as the reason why those passages are obscure.

It does not, moreover, seem to have occurred to Hoffmann that the identification which he made between the characters referred to in the two stories might be explained in another way. It clearly was not necessary to assume that Aḥiḳar was later than Tobit, and that the existence of the Syriac and Arabic legends of Aḥiḳar involved the acquaintance of the East Syrians with the Old Testament Apocrypha. For example, Tobit might be dependent upon Aḥiḳar, or both of them upon a third document which has disappeared. If the supposition of Hoffmann were correct, then the story of Aḥiḳar would be an apocryphon of the second order, written, in part, to explain obscure allusions in an earlier apocryphon. Its relation to Tobit would then be something like the supplementary position which it occupies in the Arabian Nights; it would be an antilegomenon in two collections. But if Tobit were the later of the two compositions, then Aḥiḳar takes its place amongst the Old Testament Apocrypha by right of the firstborn; and the elder ceases to serve the younger. It is now no longer commentary, it has become text; and, so far as one writer is commentator upon the other, it is Tobit that moralizes upon what has been read in Aḥiḳar.

It becomes, therefore, of the first importance to determine whether Hoffmann's valuable information concerning the common matter in Tobit and in Aḥiḳar should be explained as Hoffmann has done, or whether the relative priority of the two stories should be reversed.

Now we may say at once that the internal evidence of the two stories is sufficient to decide the question in favour of the second alternative. But before making the necessary textual comparison, it may be well to watch a little more in detail the way in which the attention of critics was being drawn to this remarkable legend.

It had already been pointed out by J. S. Assemani in his

Bibliotheca Orientalis when describing a MS. of the story of Aḥiḳar, that a similar story was extant in the Aesop legends[1].

As we shall see by and by, the story of the adventures of Aesop at the court of Lykēros, king of Babylon, are an exact parallel to the story of the wise Aḥiḳar. So that the problem is now complicated by the introduction of a third competitor for the place of honour, and this time a Greek competitor.

The importance of this fresh factor was further accentuated by the discovery of a text of the legend which was clearly based upon a Greek original; for it was found to have passed over into Slavonic, and to be, even at the present day, very popular in Russia. And the publication of a translation of this Slavonic text[2] in 1892 by Jagić rendered a comparison possible between the story as it had come down in Arabic (probably from a Syriac base) and the Slavonic (as it had come down from a Greek base). So that the argument for a Greek original could be maintained from the Aesop legends *plus* the Slavonic version, as against the theory of a Semitic original, based on the Arabian Nights *plus* such Syriac and other Oriental versions as might be recovered.

Nor was the diffusion of the legend of Aḥiḳar exhausted even by this statement, for there were parallels and allusions in Eastern literature, not a few, both to the history of Aḥiḳar and his ethics and his wise solution of riddles and other peculiarities of the story as current in Greek or in Arabic, which rendered it certain that the story could not be of modern growth or development.

It became necessary, therefore, that a closer investigation

[1] *B. O.* ii. 508. Cod. 40, in indice codd. Arab., continet Hicari Philosophi Mosulani praecepta. [*Mosulani* is the Arabic translation of the Syriac for *Ninevite*?]

B. O. iii. 286. Historia Hicari sapientis et quae ipsi contigere cum Nadan sororis suae filio et cum rege Aegypti. [Cod. Arab. 55.] De Hicaro eadem fere narrantur quae de Aesopo Phryge. Ejusdem Hicari, qui Philosophus Mosulanus appellatur, praecepta Arabice extant Cod. 40.

[2] *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Vol. i. Pt. 1, 1892.

should be made of the relations between Tobit and the Greek and Semitic forms of the legend of Aḥiḳar. Accordingly Kuhn, who had added an admirable summary of the materials available for criticism of the legend to the translation published by Jagić, asked especially for a fresh treatment of the Aesop legends. Kuhn, however, still followed Hoffmann in regarding the story of Aḥiḳar as being dependent upon what is called the B-recension of the book of Tobit.

In 1894 there appeared, in response to Kuhn's appeal, a new and remarkably fresh and exhaustive treatment of the whole subject by Meissner, entitled *Quellenuntersuchungen zur Ḥaiḳargeschichte*, in which the question of the relative priority of the Greek and Semitic legends was re-examined and an abundance of fresh material relating thereto was brought forward[1].

We shall see presently that Meissner, in spite of the valuable material which he accumulated, drew wrong conclusions in giving to the Aesop legends the priority over those contained in the Arabian Nights: and while recognising, as he could not fail to do, the allusions to the story in the book of Tobit, he treated that story as if it existed, in the days before Tobit, merely in the form of floating legend, and not in the form of a book. According to Meissner, in four passages the author of the book of Tobit alludes to a certain Eastern Sage, whose history he throws into connexion with the hero of his own book. We may then, according to Meissner's view of the case, assume the existence of an ancient Hebrew legend, whose hero was Aḥiḳar, which legend was transferred by a Greek writer to Aesop. This story was committed to writing by Syrian Christians in the seventh or eighth century A.D., probably with an actual employment of the already existing Greek form.

The person of Aḥiḳar was thus, according to Meissner, well known to antiquity, and his fame had spread far and wide from Syria. The origin of the Jewish legend was earlier than the book of Tobit, which is, with good reason, referred to the first or second

[1] The tract will be found in *Z. D. M. G.* vol. 48, pp. 171–197.

century B.C. Meissner does not think the story of Aḥiḳar was current much earlier. In any case it was committed to writing in Greek. And at the time when this was done, Hebrew was already an ecclesiastical language, not understood of the people. And this fact, together with the non-religious character of the story, renders it certain that the book was never received into the Apocryphal books, so that it passed into an undeserved obscurity.

Such were Meissner's conclusions. They were promptly challenged by Lidzbarski[1], who suggested as a more probable alternative that the Syriac legends were a translation *of a book* already existing before the days of Tobit and employed by the writer of that apocryphal story; and Lidzbarski thought it was more likely that the primitive legend was written in Hebrew than in Greek. We shall see presently that this is the true solution.

Lidzbarski followed up his criticism by publishing in 1896 a complete translation[2] of the Arabic version of the story, and this publication is commented upon by Dr James in the second volume of his *Apocrypha Anecdota*. As might have been expected, Dr James saw that the story was not only involved in the book of Tobit, but that it had also been employed in the New Testament (in the Parable of the Wicked Servant), and he at once conceded its antiquity. 'This romance,' said he, 'is clearly older than Tobit,' and he remarks further, that, 'as the story was clearly popular, and is also clearly prae-Christian, it would be no very strange thing if the Parable [of the Wicked Servant in Matt. xxiv. 48, cf. Luke xii. 45] has borrowed a trait or two from it.' We shall see that its influence upon the New Testament is even stronger than Dr James had imagined[3].

Last of all, a discussion of the legend, with a fresh translation from the Syriac, was given by Dr E. J. Dillon, in the *Contemporary Review* for March 1898. Dr Dillon does not discuss the question

[1] Lidzbarski's tract will be found in *Z. D. M. G.* vol. 48, pp. 671–675. *Zum weisen Achikar.*

[2] Lidzbarski, *Geschichten und Lieder.*

[3] Since then Dr James has treated the story at some length in a communication to the *Guardian* (Feb. 2, 1898), in which he discusses some further parallels.

of the Biblical Parallels, but he brings forward fresh reasons for believing that Aḥiḳar is a survival from 'the numerous Hebrew writings which, having no direct bearing upon religion, were passed over when the Canon was formed and nearly all of which were thus lost for ever[1].'

Such is the record, expressed in the briefest terms, of the investigations which have been accumulating with regard to this beautiful and interesting Eastern romance. They result in a general consent as to the antiquity of the story, and in an intimation of its close connexion with the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.

Having thus briefly described the slow advance of the critical wave that has been breaking upon the shore, we will now set down in order some of the materials that are available for the restoration of the story to its earliest form.

[1] Our own studies of Aḥiḳar were publicly announced before the appearance of Dr Dillon's article; we should gladly have left the whole field to him, if we had known in advance the labour that he had bestowed on the subject, of which only a very small part appears in the article in the *Contemporary Review*. We are indebted to him for many valuable suggestions.

CHAPTER II

MATERIALS FOR CRITICISM

THE diffusion of the story of Aḥiḳar is so wide, that it requires somewhat more than an average linguistic equipment to treat the whole of the forms and versions that have come to light.

We shall see reason to believe that it is a companion to the book of Tobit and, in a less striking degree, to the book of Daniel; and that it ought to be bound up with other biblical and semi-biblical matter of the same kind under the heading of 'Ninevite and Babylonian legends.' But if it be such a volume as that title would indicate and belong to the same period which produced Tobit and Daniel, then the probability is that it has, like them, an original form that was either Hebrew or Aramaic. And we should expect, *a priori*, that this original would give rise to two main versions, a Syriac and a Greek. We must apply critical methods to test this hypothesis, just as we should do in the case of Tobit.

When we have settled that question it will not be so difficult to determine what subordinate versions depend on the Greek and Syriac respectively. That is, we should naturally expect that the Slavonic version would come from a Greek base, even though we have not succeeded in actually recovering such an underlying document. The case of the adaptations which pass as 'lives of Aesop' will require a separate treatment. On the Oriental side, there will probably be little difficulty in deriving the Arabic version from the Syriac and the Ethiopic from the Arabic. But the problem of the origin of the Armenian version will be more

difficult. Whether there are other lost versions is another point that must be reserved for further study. It is quite possible that the story may have passed into India by way of the Old Persian, in which case it may perhaps be still lurking amongst the Parsee literature. Benfey went so far as to attempt to connect the story with the earlier Indian literature and to recognize Aḥiḳar in the wise Vizier Çakatala of the Çukapasati legends, but his suggestion has not been favourably received.

We shall be satisfied if we can find sufficient evidence for an underlying Hebrew or Aramaic text, and if we can throw some light upon the early Greek and Syriac texts in their relation to this lost primitive and to one another.

But in order to open the discussion on these points, we must describe the sources from which our extant versions are derived and from which they may be emended.

(1) *The Syriac version.*

Of the Syriac, properly so called, there is not much extant. We have, however, a fragment in the British Museum, a copy in the Cambridge University Library and a copy at Berlin.

(S_1). The fragment in the British Museum is a single leaf in a Nestorian MS. of the 12th or 13th century: it is numbered 7200 amongst the Additional MSS. and the leaf that contains Aḥiḳar is the 114th. It is a good deal water-stained and is consequently difficult to decipher. We have printed it separately, as the text appears to be good.

(S_2). The Cambridge MS. belongs to the collection that was formerly in the possession of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and is now numbered Add. 2020 in the University Catalogue. The following is the description of it in the Catalogue:

Univ Cant. Add. 2020.

Paper, about 12 in. by 8: 190 leaves, of which several are soiled and mutilated, especially f. 158. F. 190 is blank. The

quires were originally twenty in number, but the first and second and one leaf of the third have been lost, and their place is taken by the modern supply ff. 1—5. The remaining quires have 10 leaves, except ﻉ [8], ﻝ [22] and ﻩ [5]. There is a lacuna after f. 184. The writing (27 to 30 lines in a page) is a good Nestorian serṭā of the year 2009 = A.D. 1697.

This volume contains

1. Histories of saints and other matters chiefly theological.

. . . . . .

5. The proverbs or history of Aḥiḳar the wise, the scribe of Sanḥērībh, king of Assyria and Nineveh f. 66[a].

6. A short extract from the maxims of Solomon f. 78[a].

7. Fables of the wise Josephus (Aesopus) f. 78[a].

. . . . . .

10. Other fables of Josephus (Aesopus) f. 105[b].

etc. etc.

(S_3). The Berlin MS. is Cod. Sachau. 336. I am sorry not to have been able to collate it.

(S_4, S_5, S_6). These signs refer to three more copies that have come to our knowledge as being in the possession of the American Mission at Ooroomiah. All of them are modern transcripts, but one of them (S_4) is said to be made from an exemplar of an early date.

(2) *Arabic and Karshuni texts.*

We have given especial attention to the Arabic text as published from a Karshuni MS. by Salhani (*Contes Arabes*: Beyrout), and to certain copies in the University Library at Cambridge and in the British Museum.

(K_1). Of these the most important is a Cambridge MS. (Add. 2886), formerly in the collection of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. It is a very late Karshuni text, on paper. The story of Aḥiḳar begins on f. 81[a] and goes to f. 106[a].

(K_2). Next to this comes a MS. in the British Museum from

the collection of Claudius J. Rich, and numbered Add. 7209. It is a Karshuni MS. on paper and contains the story of Aḥiḳar on ff. 182^{b}—213^{b}.

(K_3). We have not examined the Gotha MS. 2652 which contains on ff. 47^{b}—64^{b} a Karshuni text of the legend. The No. of this MS. is given by Cornill, *Buch der weisen Philosophen* p. 32, as 589, but by Kuhn in *Byzantin. Zeitschrift* I. 129 as 2562. The text of the *sayings* of Aḥiḳar was printed from this MS. by Cornill.

(K_4). A similar MS. appears to be described by Assemani as No. XXXII. of Syriac MSS. from Aleppo; and

(K_5) Meissner appears to have another of the same type from the Sachau collection at Berlin. This MS. seems to be a later acquisition than those described in the *Kurzes Verzeichniss der Sachau'schen Sammlung*. It is written in a Neo-Aramaic dialect; and if we rightly understand Lidzbarski (*Geschichten und Lieder* p. x) it is a translation made from the Arabic by the deacon Isaiah of Kullith in the Tur-Abdîn. On this MS. (?) and on the printed text of Salhani, Lidzbarski bases his translation.

Of Arabic texts proper, there may probably be found examples in the library at Copenhagen and in the Vatican Library.

(A_1). Copenhagen. Cod. Arab. CCXXXVI., written in 1670, and containing on ff. 1—41, 'historiam fabulosam 'Haiqâri, Persici philosophi, qui San'harîbi aetate vixisse fertur.'

(A_2). Assemani notes Cod. Arab. XI. (written in 1766) from the collection of Pope Innocent XIII.:

(A_3) and Cod. 55 amongst the Arabic MSS. in the Vatican.

(3) *Aethiopic.*

Next in order comes the Aethiopic text of the Sayings of Aḥiḳar, which has been published by Cornill in his *Buch der weisen Philosophen.*

(Ae_1) (Ae_2). Cornill has two MSS., one from Frankfort and the other from Tübingen, which he designates by the signs F and T.

We have not ventured to print the Aethiopic text, but have made some use of Cornill's rendering of it.

(4) *Armenian version.*

Of this version Mr Conybeare gives us the following description, including both copies and printed texts.

(Arm_1=Bod.). A MS. in the Bodleian Library, not yet catalogued or numbered. This is a paper MS., in a rare form of *notergir* or small cursive. The first page of Khikar has been torn out in such a way as to leave the beginnings of the last six lines on recto and verso.

(Arm_2 = Ven.). No. 482 in the Library of San Lazaro in Venice, written in *bolorgir* or large cursive, on parchment, undated, but of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

(Arm_3 = Paris 92). In the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, Ancien Fonds Arménien No. 92, on paper. In this MS. only the last half of Khikar is contained from p. 141 of the printed text to the end. The scribe has added at the end of it the date 1067 of the Armenian era = A.D. 1619. The hand is a peculiar one, and the piece begins on fol. 179.

(Arm_4 = Paris Supp. 58). Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Arm. Supplément No. 58. On paper, in *notergir* or small cursive, ill-written in the seventeenth century. The text occupies fol. 253 to end of the MS. but is incomplete, and breaks off at p. 141.

(Arm_5 = Paris 131). Bibliothèque Nationale, Anc. Fonds Arm. No. 131, contains the text on foll. 213—228, written on paper, probably late in the seventeenth century, in an untidy *notergir* hand.

(Arm_6 = Paris 69). Bibliothèque Nationale, Anc. Fonds Arm. No. 69. A large quarto, well-written in large *bolorgir* or cursive, on charta bombycina in the seventeenth century. The text of Khikar begins with the precepts, the prelude being absent.

(Arm_7 = Bod. Canon). Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Orient. 131; written in large clear *bolorgir* or cursive on charta bombycina.

Khikar occupies foll. 1—36^{v}. This codex was written in New Djulfa or Ispahan A.D. 1697 by Hazrapet the priest for the use of a person named Israel.

Khikar is followed by the Romance of the Seven Sages and by the story of Barlaam and Josaphat.

(Arm_8 = Edjm.). In the Library of Edjmiatzin, No. 2048 in the new Catalogue, a small well-written codex, in *notergir* or small cursive, on charta bombycina of about A.D. 1600. Of this codex Mr Conybeare transcribed in the year 1891 the exordium and the first eighteen precepts.

To the foregoing may be added the following copies contained in catalogues or otherwise known to exist:

In the catalogue of the library of Edjmiatzin printed in Tiflis in 1863,

Nos. 1633 [A.D. 1604]
1995 [A.D. 1605]
1986 [A.D. 1623]
51 [A.D. 1642]

} all on paper in small cursive.

Recently acquired by the British Museum, a small cursive MS. on paper, written in the 18th cent. The Berlin Library contains (see Dr Karamian's catalogue of Arm. MS.) a MS. of Khikar (No. 83 = MS. Or. Peterm. I. 147) of the year 1698, which contains the precepts on ff. 1—26^{v}. In this MS. as in Bodley Canon. Or. 131 Khikar is followed by the History of the Seven Sages.

It should further be noticed that the Armenian Khikar has been three times printed at Constantinople. Details of the three editions are given in the Armenian Bibliography issued at San Lazaro, Venice, in 1883. The first was printed in 1708 under the title 'The Book of the History of the Brazen City, and the Questions of the Damsel and Youth. And the History of Khikar and of king Phohloula and so forth, which is a picture of the world.' The editor was one Sargis.

The next edition was in 1731 under the title, 'The Book of the History called the Brazen City. And the instructive and helpful sayings of the wise man Khikar, with other profitable sayings.

Printed in the year of our era 1106 (= A.D. 1731) in the press of the humble Astouatsatour.

The third edition was in 1862 at the press of R. J. Qurqdshean.

(5) *The Greek version.*

(Aes.). For the elucidation of this version we have printed those parts of the legends of the life and death of Aesop which appear to be an adaptation of the story of Aḥiḳar. Our text is taken from Eberhard, *Fabulae Romanenses Graece conscriptae.* The part that corresponds to the story of Aḥiḳar begins on p. 285, cxxiii, and continues to p. 297, end of cxxxii. There is a good deal of variation in these Aesop legends.

(6) *The Slavonic version.*

(Sl.). Our text of this version is a translation from the German of Jagić, printed in *Byzant. Zeitsch.* i. pp. 107—126. No attempt has been made to follow up the Russian investigations of the subject. [There is also a Rumanian version; see Kuhn in *Byzant. Zeitsch.* i. p. 130.]

These, then, are the chief authorities for the text and its tradition. The editions of the Arabian Nights, and especially the translations, are hardly to be taken as authorities, on account of the freedom with which they handle the matter.

[To the foregoing must now be added

(7) The Old Turkish version which we have here given is a transliteration and a translation from a Vienna MS. (Cod. 468 of the Mechitarist Library)

and,

(8) which ought really to be first and foremost, the Aramaic version from Elephantiné, which we have described below.]

CHAPTER III

OF THE PRINCIPAL CHARACTERS IN THE STORY OF AḤIḳAR

We will commence our investigation into the primitive legend which underlies all the versions described above by enquiring into the tradition of the names of the chief personages in the story, with the view of determining the proper forms of those names, and of finding out anything further about the leading characters. First of all, with regard to the spelling of the name of the hero of the legend. We have found him described as Hayḳar [Heyḳar, Hiḳar] in the Arabic story: from two Karshuni MSS. which contain the story (K_1 and K_2) we have the spelling Aḥiḳar and Ḥiḳar. The Syriac MS. in the British Museum has Aḥiḳar, and so have the Cambridge and Berlin Syriac MSS. The Armenian text has *Khikar* which does not agree perfectly with any of the forms quoted, nor with the transliteration of Ἀχιάχαρος in the Armenian Tobit.

The evidence suggests a Syriac form *Aḥiḳar* from which the Arabic, Karshuni and Aethiopic are derived. The Slavonic form is *Akyrios* which can hardly be primitive.

Now let us turn to the book of Tobit. The book exists in two Greek recensions and in Aramaic: of the two Greek recensions, that found in the Sinaitic MS. differs so radically from the text of the Vatican and Alexandrian MSS. that the Cambridge editors have felt obliged to print it separately at the foot of the text which is based on the Vatican MS. We must, then, examine carefully the evidence that is furnished by the two recensions when they may happen to differ. The passages to be examined are as follows:

Tobit i. 21...

Vatican text.

καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Σαχερδονὸς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔταξεν Ἀχιάχαρον τὸν Ἀναὴλ υἱὸν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκλογιστείαν τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν διοίκησιν. καὶ ἠξίωσεν Ἀχιάχαρος περὶ ἐμοῦ, καὶ ἦλθον εἰς Νινευή. Ἀχιάχαρος δὲ ἦν ὁ οἰνοχόος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δακτυλίου καὶ διοικητὴς καὶ ἐκλογιστής, καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτὸν ὁ Σαχερδονός, υἱὸς, ἐκ δευτέρας· ἦν δὲ ἐξάδελφός μου.

Sinaitic text.

καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Σαχερδονὸς υἱὸς αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτόν, καὶ ἔταξεν Ἀχείχαρον τὸν Ἀναὴλ τὸν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου υἱὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκλογιστίαν τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς εἶχεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν διοίκησιν. τότε ἠξίωσεν Ἀχείχαρος περὶ ἐμοῦ, καὶ κατῆλθον εἰς τὴν Νινευή. Ἀχείχαρος γὰρ ἦν ὁ ἀρχιοινοχόος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δακτυλίου καὶ διοικητὴς καὶ ἐκλογιστὴς ἐπὶ Σενναχηρεὶμβασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων, καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτὸν Σαχερδονὸς ἐκ δευτέρας. ἦν δὲ ἐξάδελφός μου καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενίας μου.

καὶ ἐπὶ Σαρχεδόνος βασιλέως....

c. ii. 10.

καὶ ἐπορεύθην πρὸς ἰατρούς, καὶ οὐκ ὠφέλησάν με· Ἀχιάχαρος δὲ ἔτρεφέν με ἕως οὗ ἐπορεύθην εἰς τὴν Ἐλυμαίδα.

καὶ ἐπορευόμην πρὸς τοὺς ἰατροὺς θεραπευθῆναι, καὶ ὅσῳ ἐνεχρίσαν με τὰ φάρμακα, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ἐξετυφλοῦντο οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου τοῖς λευκώμασιν μέχρι τοῦ ἀποτυφλωθῆναι. καὶ ἤμην ἀδύνατος τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔτη τέσσερα. καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀδελφοί μου ἐλυποῦντο περὶ ἐμοῦ, καὶ Ἀχειάχαρος ἔτρεφέν με ἔτη δύο πρὸ τοῦ αὐτὸν βαδίσαι εἰς τὴν Ἐλυμαίδα.

c. xi. 17, 18.

καὶ ἐγένετο χαρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν Νινευὴ ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ. καὶ παρεγένετο Ἀχιάχαρος καὶ Νασβᾶς ὁ ἐξάδελφος αὐτοῦ.

ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ ἐγένετο χαρὰ πᾶσιν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Νινευή. καὶ παρεγένοντο Ἀχεικὰρ καὶ Ναβὰδ οἱ ἐξάδελφοι αὐτοῦ χαίροντες πρὸς Τώβειν.

c. xiv. 10.

τέκνον, ἴδε τί ἐποίησεν Ἀδὰμ Ἀχιαχάρῳ τῷ θρέψαντι αὐτόν, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ φωτὸς ἤγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ σκότος καὶ ὅσα ἀνταπέδωκεν αὐτῷ· καὶ Ἀχιάχαρον μὲν ἔσωσεν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ τὸ ἀνταπόδομα ἀπεδόθη, καὶ αὐτὸς κατέβη εἰς τὸ σκότος. Μανασσῆς ἐποίησεν ἐλεημοσύνην, καὶ ἐσώθη ἐκ παγίδος θανάτου ἧς ἔπηξεν αὐτῷ, Ἀδὰμ δὲ ἐνέπεσεν εἰς τὴν παγίδα καὶ ἀπώλετο.

ἴδε, παιδίον, ὅσα Ναδὰβ ἐποίησεν Ἀχεικάρῳ τῷ ἐκθρέψαντι αὐτόν, οὐχὶ ζῶν κατηνέχθη εἰς τὴν γῆν; καὶ ἀπέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἀτιμίαν κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὸ φῶς Ἀχίκαρος, καὶ Ναδὰβ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ σκότος τοῦ αἰῶνος ὅτι ἐζήτησεν ἀποκτεῖναι Ἀχείκαρον. ἐν τῷ ποιῆσαί με ἐλεημοσύνην ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς παγίδος τοῦ θανάτου ἣν ἔπηξεν αὐτῷ Ναδάβ, καὶ Ναδὰβ ἔπεσεν εἰς τὴν παγίδα τοῦ θανάτου καὶ ἀπώλεσεν αὐτόν.

c. xiv. 15.

καὶ ἤκουσεν πρὶν ἢ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν τὴν ἀπωλίαν Νινευὴ ἣν ᾐχμαλώτισεν Ναβουχοδονοσὸρ καὶ Ἀσύηρος.

καὶ εἶδεν καὶ ἤκουσεν πρὸ τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν τὴν ἀπωλίαν Νινευή, καὶ εἶδεν τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν αὐτῆς ἀγομένην εἰς Μηδείαν ἣν ᾐχμαλώτισεν Ἀχιάκαρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Μηδίας.

It will be noticed that while the Vatican MS. has Ἀχιάχαρος and once, by some extraordinary confusion, Μανασσῆς, the Sinaitic has Ἀχείχαρος, Ἀχειάχαρος, Ἀχιάχαρος, Ἀχεικάρ, Ἀχίκαρος, and Ἀχείκαρος; and in three cases the Sinaitic text of Tobit has the form which is equivalent to the Syro-Arabic tradition of the legend of Aḥiḳar. Moreover the same form appears in the versions of the book of Tobit, which are derived from the Greek of Tobit. Thus the Peshito as edited by Lagarde has ܐܚܝܩܪ, and ܚܣܦܪ, of which the former is a scribe's blunder for ܐܚܣܦܪ. The Old Latin has the same form *Achicarus*, and the Vulgate, which has corrected this by means of a Chaldee text, has fallen, in the single case in which it has preserved the references to the legend, into the same error that we detected in the Peshito, viz. Achior[1].

Of the other forms in which the Tobit legend occurs we do not need to speak at length.

It is sufficient to have shown that the evidence for the spelling Aḥiḳar is very strong, as far as regards the Septuagint and the versions that are dependent on it[2].

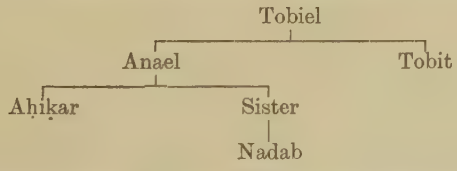
Turning to the nephew of Aḥiḳar, we find the texts in sad

[1] From this Meissner conjectures that the Chaldee of which Jerome speaks was the Peshito.

[2] [The name in question has now turned up, and our spelling is justified. The following note by C. J. Ball in the *Expository Times* for July 1908, p. 473 will put the matter clearly. 'An old Babylonian tablet in the Library of St John's College, Oxford, sets at rest the question of the origin of the curious name Achicarus (Tob. i. 21 etc.). Here we find among the witnesses to a deed of sale, executed in the reign of Apel Sin, the fourth king of the First Dynasty (circ. 2100 B.C.) a certain *Achu-waqar* (A-chu-wa-qar) the *kamarum* (perhaps priest, cf. Heb. כמרים Zeph. i. 4). This confirms the אחיקר of the Hebrew and Aramaic versions of Tobit, and proves that the name is not Persian, but pure Semitic. Other tablets in the same collection give us *Abam-waqar Ili-waqar*.']

confusion, both as regards his relationship to the chief character, and the spelling of his name. The Vatican text treats us to *Nasbas* and *Adam*. Of these it has been suggested that the former is meant for the younger brother of Nadan: the latter arises out of ἐποίησε Ναδάμ by a wrong division of the words. The Sinaitic MS. on the other hand varies between Ναβάδ and Ναδάβ of which the latter is the proper form to edit. We have thus two related forms Ναδάμ and Ναδάβ to set over against the Ναδάν of the Syro-Arabic Aḥiḳar. It is not necessary to decide which form has the priority in a case where the modifications are mere phonetic variations. As for the versions of Tobit, they show the same variants, *plus* an occasional independent variation in the transcription. The Old Latin has *Nabal* and *Nabad* and the Vulgate the equivalent *Nabath*. The Peshito reads ܢܕܒ and ܢܕܢ which are Syriac blunders for *Nadab* and *Nadan*. The Slavonic version of Aḥiḳar reads *Anadan*. The two names, then, can be restored in the LXX. of Tobit into close agreement with the Syro-Arabic forms of the legend of Aḥiḳar. And there can be no residuum of doubt that the same persons are intended.

There is, however, much confusion in the tradition of the Septuagint. According to the legend of Aḥiḳar, Nadab is his sister's son, and the whole story turns on this relationship. But in the Vatican Tobit, we are first told that Aḥiḳar is the son of Tobit's brother, then that he is his ἐξάδελφος; then that Nasbas (Nadab?) is ἐξάδελφος to Aḥiḳar, and finally that Aḥiḳar is Nadab's foster-father. We thus have, if we may strain the meaning of ἐξάδελφος, a table of consanguinity as follows:



The Sinaitic text of Tob. xi. 18, on the other hand, supported by the Vulgate (*Achior et Nabath consobrini Tobiae*), will have it that both Aḥiḳar and Nadab are ἐξάδελφοι to Tobit, but this

looks suspiciously like a case of a plural misread for a singular. Removing *Tobiae* from the Vulgate, and restoring the singular *consobrinus* (= ἐξάδελφος) in the sense of nephew, we are in harmony with the Syro-Arabic legend: and the names of the leading characters are now practically settled.

We pass on to notice briefly the names of the other personages involved, and to ask whether there is any supplementary knowledge to be obtained concerning the wise Aḥiḳar and his fortunes or misfortunes. The only characters that are clearly identified as common to the Tobit and Aḥiḳar legends are Aḥiḳar and his nephew and the king of Assyria. According to Tobit the historical setting of the story is as follows:

Enemessar leads the Israelites of the northern kingdom into captivity (c. i. 2):

Upon his death Ἀχηρείλ his son rules in his stead (c. i. 15).

He is slain by his two sons, and Σαχερδονός his son rules in his stead (c. i. 21).

Σαχερδονός appoints Aḥiḳar his prime minister and the latter brings Tobit into court favour. Moreover Σαχερδονός had appointed Aḥiḳar to fill the chief offices, being himself a son by the second wife[1] (ὁ Σαχερδονός υἱὸς ἐκ δευτέρας c. i. 21, 22).

And at the close of the story (c. xiv. 15) we are informed that Tobias the son of Tobit lived to see the desolation of Nineveh by Nebuchadnezzar and Ahasuerus. Such is the story as told in the Vatican text; it is much confused both in the conception and in the transcription.

Enemessar is certainly Shalmaneser IV., who came up against Samaria in the 7th year of Hoshea king of Israel.

Ἀχηρείλ is a pure blunder arising from the dropping of a repeated syllable in

ΕΒΑCΙΛΕΥCΕΝ[CΕΝ]ΑΧΗΡΕΙΜ

[1] Which should probably be corrected to ὁ Σαχερδόνος υἱός, ἐκ δευτέρας, i.e. the son of Σαχερδών appointed him the second time.

from which we see that Sennacherib is intended as the successor of Shalmaneser. It should have been Sargon. The oversight is due to the fact that the writer of Tobit is following the record of II. Kings where Sargon is not expressly mentioned. According to the same record (c. xix. 37) we find that Sennacherib is slain by Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons, and that Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead. He is the Σαχερδών or Σαχερδονός of the book of Tobit, which definitely alludes to the murder of Sennacherib by his sons, and has evidently been using the Biblical account.

The period of history covered by Tobit and his son Tobias ranges as follows:

Shalmaneser IV.	727—722 B.C.
Sargon	722—705
Sennacherib	705—681
Esarhaddon	681—668
Assurbanipal	668—626,

to which must be added that the fall of Nineveh to which Tobit refers is assigned to the year 606. This last event is regarded as due to the action of Nebuchadnezzar and Ahasuerus; from which we may identify Ahasuerus with Cyaxares, king of Media, and where we must substitute for Nebuchadnezzar his father Nabopolassar, unless we prefer to argue that one of the two kings of Babylon was general for the other, in which case Tobit's statement might pass muster: for the fall of Nineveh was due to a combined attack of Medes and Babylonians.

As the book assigns an age of 158 years to Tobias and 107 to his father Tobit, the period of history referred to would be fairly covered by the two long lives in question. So that we must at least credit the author with an attempt at historical accuracy.

The account given in the Sinaitic MS. will be found more correct in the names: it gives Sennacherim for Sennacherib, and for Esarhaddon has once Σαρχεδών which is very near to the Assyrian form. (The spelling Σαχερδάν of the Alexandrian MS. should also be noticed.) In the closing passage of the book the Sinaitic MS. makes the captivity and fall of Nineveh the work of Ἀχιάχαρος:

this I should take to be a pure blunder, caused by the omission of Nebuchadnezzar, and the confusion of Ἀσύηρος with the frequently recurring Ἀχιάχαρος.

Now let us turn to the legend of Aḥiḳar. The versions agree in referring the story to the days of Sennacherib, the son of Sarḥadum, king of Assyria and Nineveh. There can be no doubt that Esarhaddon is meant, and that the order of the kings is the reverse of the historical order as given in Tobit. We should naturally conclude that the mistake is primitive, for all these Mesopotamian legends are weak in history and chronology: and in that case, the blunder would be corrected in Tobit, who has evidently tried to be historical, by reference to II. Kings[1].

It may be suggested that perhaps the original draft of Aḥiḳar ran as follows: 'in the days of Sennacherib and in the days of Esarhaddon, kings of Assyria'; and that this would explain why Tobit says that Esarhaddon made Aḥiḳar Grand Vizier the second time. But a reference to later passages in the story in which Sennacherib speaks of Aḥiḳar's fidelity in the days of 'my father Esarhaddon' shows that the mistake runs right through the story, the whole of which is laid in the reign of Sennacherib.

So we suspect that it is this same blunder which Tobit is trying to correct when he says that Esarhaddon υἱὸς ἐκ δευτέρας appointed Aḥiḳar. He had before him a statement that 'the son of Esarhaddon made Aḥiḳar vizier the second time,' i.e. that he restored him to his original dignity; this has been badly corrected into 'Esarhaddon, a son ἐκ δευτέρας.' The awkwardness of the text of Tobit is due to his direct dependence upon Aḥiḳar, whose historical details he is trying to correct. We shall allow, then, the existence of the blunder in the order of the kings, in the earliest form of the legend[2].

[1] [It turns out that the mistake is not as primitive as suggested, if we may judge from the Elephantiné papyrus, which has the right historical order.]

[2] The proposal to replace Σαρχηδών by *Sargon* is another suggestion for evading the difficulty. There are, however, too many places to be treated to make the correction likely: we must say with Sir Isaac Newton (*Chronology*, p. 282), 'Asserhadon called Sarchedon by Tobit.'

The other names which occur in the story of Aḥiḳar do not appear in the book of Tobit; careful enquiry must be made whether they belong to the primitive form of the legend. They are (i) the name of Aḥiḳar's wife, (ii) the name of Nadan's younger brother, (iii) the name of Aḥiḳar's friend the executioner, (iv) the name of the king of Persia with whom Nadan intrigues, (v) the name of Aḥiḳar's slave, who is set to watch the imprisoned Nadan, (vi) the names of two boys who are trained to ride on eagles and build a castle in the air, (vii) the name of the criminal substituted for Aḥiḳar at the time of execution.

(i) In the latter part of the story of Aḥiḳar, the sixty wives of the opening sentences are reduced to a single dominant figure of a very clever woman, who shares her husband's counsels and assists his schemes. We are inclined to think that she does not belong to the original draft of the story. She is called in Syriac Ashfegani, ܐܫܦܓܢܝ: and in Arabic اشعغنى or اشفغنى which appear to be equivalent to the Syriac form. The Armenian has *Abestan* and *Arphestan*, and the Slavonic drops it altogether.

(ii) Nadan's younger brother appears in Syriac as *Nabuzardan*, a correct Assyrian form, which may however be derived from II. Kings xxv.: in the Arabic we find *Benuzarden* which is a mere corruption of the foregoing, and *Naudan*. In the Vatican text of Tobit, there is a remote probability that he appears as *Nasbas*, but the identification is very uncertain.

(iii) The executioner is known in Syriac as *Yabusemakh*, which is a corruption of *Nabusemakh* (the meaning of which may be 'Nebo has supported'), with which we may compare *Aḥisamakh* in Ex. xxxi. 6. The Arabic and Karshuni texts sometimes give the original form *Nabusemakh*, and sometimes show corruptions of it, as *Ibn Samikh*, or *Ibn Samikh Meskin Kanti*, where *Meskin* may have arisen out of *Samikh*, and *Kanti* may stand for an original Syriac ܚܕܝ, = my colleague. The Armenian has, in fact, '*Abusmaq*, my comrade.' In Slavonic he is simply 'my friend,' which supports the explanation.

[The newly-found papyrus from Elephantiné solves the riddle

by giving us the Babylonian form Nebošumiškun, from which the Arabic forms can be at once explained.]

It appears both from this case and the preceding one that the name of an Assyrian deity is involved: this may also be seen in the Aesop story, which makes the name of the executioner *Hermippos*; Hermes is, in fact, the Greek equivalent of Nebo. Cf. Abulfaraj, *Hist. Dynast.* III., 'His name is Nebuchadnezzar, i.e. Hermes speaks.' We have here a powerful argument against the priority of the Aesop legends.

(iv) The king of Persia is called, in S_2, *Akhi bar Ḥamselim*, אחי בר חמשלם, which the Arabic makes into 'Achish, the son of Shah the wise'; I hardly know how to explain this curious form: perhaps the original reading was *Ahasuerus*. He is said in the Arabic to be the king of

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i.e. Persia and the Barbarians: Meissner had already conjectured that this should be corrected to Persia and Elam[1]; and in fact the Cambridge Syriac has Elam.

This is further confirmed by the Slavonic version, which reads 'the king of Persia, Nalon,' an independent corruption of the same phrase. The expression 'King of Persia and Elam' certainly has an archaic look. The trait is lost in the Armenian.

(v) The name of the slave who writes down the reproaches which Aḥiḳar pronounces over his nephew has also undergone a good deal of mutation. The Slavonic *Nagubil* has a primitive appearance, especially when we compare it with the biblical *Abednego* which is supposed to stand for 'servant of Nebo'; and the suggested equivalence of Nego and Nebo is confirmed by the Arabic readings *Nebubel* and *Nabuḥal*.

In Armenian he appears as *Bêliar*.

We have, however, the suspicion that here also the name of the Assyrian deity is involved.

(vi) The two boys who are trained to ride on eagles and build a castle in the air are called in Arabic copies *Nabuḥail*

[1] p. 177, and cf. Lidzbarski, p. 13 note.

and *Tabshalom*; other copies omit them. The Syriac (S_2) has *Ubael* and *Tabshalam*. In the Armenian they are absent and so in the Slavonic. Of these names the first seems to be added on the hypothesis that it is one of the flying boys that is set to watch Nadan. The second name is also suspect, as not belonging to the original draft of the story. For it appears to be borrowed from the Arabic version of the stories of Kalilah and Dimnah, where it has the form *Dabshalim*, and although the name has a Semitic cast, it is of Indian origin. It appears in the Syriac Kalilah as *Dabsharam*, and Benfey has conjectured that this goes back to a Sanskrit *Devaçarman*[1]. Burton, also, was struck by the similarity of these forms, and says 'The sound bears a suspicious resemblance to *Dabshalim* in c. 1 of the fables of Pilpay (i.e. Kalilah and Dimnah[2]).'

It is, of course, quite conceivable that the episode of the flying boys may belong to the later developments of the story.

(vii) The Cambridge Syriac gives a name to the slave who is executed in the place of Aḥiḳar; he is called *Manziphar*. The Armenian gives this as *Seniphar*. The meaning of the name is not clear, nor is it certain that it is primitive.

On reviewing these proper names, we shall be struck by the prominence of Assyrian influence, especially in the recurrence of the name Nebo. It is even possible that to the instances given above we should add *Nadan* as a worn down form of *Nabudan*. And the occurrence of such Assyriasms is the more remarkable in view of the fact that in Tobit all the names, or almost all, are compounds of El and Yah. We have also in Aḥiḳar some significant allusions to the great god Bel, which should be set side by side with the references to Nebo.

It may be asked, What are the actual deities referred to in Aḥiḳar? In spite of the suggestion of Tobit that Aḥiḳar is a relation of his, and therefore, presumably, a Jew, the suspicion which arises from the comparison of the versions *inter se* is that

[1] See Keith-Falconer, *Book of Kalilah and Dimnah*, pp. 270, 271.

[2] See Burton, p. 17.

he is a polytheist: and that, just as the later forms of the story have reformed its revengeful ethics, so they have improved the theology of its hero.

We find that in the Arabic version, the sage consults astrologers, wizards and learned men, with regard to his childless condition, and is directed to pray to the gods. No special gods are named, but when we turn to the Armenian text we find that Aḥiḳar 'enters to the gods with many offerings, lights a fire, and casts incense thereon and presents offerings and sacrifices victims.' Then he kneels down and prays to the gods, as follows:

> 'O my lords, Belshim and Shimel and Shamin, command and give me male seed.'

Here it certainly appears as if there had been revision, on the part of the Syriac, in the interests of monotheism. The names, however, in the Armenian are perplexing: they do not seem to be bona-fide Assyrian deities, in spite of the appearance of Bel in composition. And this is the more remarkable because, in the Egyptian episodes, which one would be tempted on some accounts to regard as later developments, the Assyrian Bel is not only mentioned, but he is also very well defined.

Thus we find in the Arabic that Haiḳar compared his master Sennacherib to the God of Heaven[1] (having previously compared Pharaoh and his nobles to Bel and his priests, and to the month of Nisan and its flowers). He (the God of Heaven) has power to prevent Bel and his nobles from going through the streets and sends storms which destroy the glory of Nisan. Lidzbarski has suggested that we have here an allusion to the procession of the statues of Bel and the other gods on the Assyrian New Year's Day: an event which is commonly recorded on the Assyrian monuments, and in unauspicious times appears in the form 'Bel came not forth.' If this allusion is rightly recognised, the matter must be early, and this part of the Egyptian episode is justified.

[1] [The title 'God of Heaven' is found in the book of Nehemiah, and we find it confirmed in the contemporary petition from Elephantiné, sent by Jedoniah and his companions to Bagoas the Persian governor.]

It has an earlier flavour than most of the Biblical apocryphal allusions, and is so far removed from the puerilities of 'Bel and the Dragon' as to deserve to be assigned to an earlier date.

One must not, however, assume of necessity that the allusions belong to the time of Nineveh or of Babylon. Bel and Nebo may occur at a much later date than that to which we refer the composition of the legend. Such names might be introduced by a story-teller, who knew the worship of Bel and Nebo as it continued to exist long after the fall of the great Mesopotamian monarchies.

Thus we find in the *Doctrine of Addai* that the people of Edessa were converted to Christianity from the worship of Bel and Nebo; e.g. p. 23, 'Who is this Nebo, an idol which ye worship, and Bel whom ye honour?[1]' p. 32, 'They threw down the altars upon which they sacrificed before Nebo and Bel their gods'; p. 48, 'Even the priests of Bel and Nebo divided with them the honour at all times.' It seems to be admitted in this composition that the worship of Bel and Nebo had not been wholly expelled from Edessa by Christianity[1].

Still, on the whole, there are allusions in the story of Aḥiḳar to Assyrian deities, which seem to have an early form and to betray a close acquaintance with Ninevite worship. The difficulty is in explaining the Armenian names; for we have in the two places to which reference has been made, in the account of Aḥikar's Egyptian visit, the following contrasts:

(*a*)

Syriac.	Arabic.	Armenian.
Bel.	The idol Bel.	The *diq* (or *daemons*).

(*b*)

(Erased.)	The god of heaven.	Belshim.

[1] The New Testament, also, has an allusion to Nebo in the name of Barnabas, and makes a spiritual translation of the name to suit the new faith.

[The references to Bel and Nebo in the *Doctrine of Addai* can be paralleled from the *Acts of Sharbil*: 'All the gods were brought together and decorated and set up in honour, both Nebo and Bel, together with their companions.' The very name of Sharbil encloses that of the deity, just as the name of Barnabas does.]

Perhaps the confusion arises from the removal of the name of Bel, and the substitution of some more general or more orthodox name; is it possible that *Belshim* arises out of an attempt to correct Bel into 'Lord of Heaven'? If so, we should have to restore the name of Bel in two places in the Armenian, and this would also have the effect of restoring it in the Syriac and Arabic parallels. The story would, then, be definitely polytheistic, not only in the Egyptian episode, but from the very commencement; and we should have a better reason for the non-canonisation of the story than the imperfection of its ethics. But even if, as seems probable, Belshim be allowed to stand in the second passage of the Armenian, and be equated with the 'god of heaven,' there is still a polytheistic element left in each of the versions in the first of the passages referred to: nor is it easy to see how the charge of polytheism is altogether to be evaded.

CHAPTER IV

OF CERTAIN OBSCURE ALLUSIONS TO AḤIḲAR IN GREEK LITERATURE

We now propose to enquire whether anything is known of Aḥiḳar in Greek literature, and whether such allusions to him as can be detected imply a knowledge of the legend.

The most important passage is undoubtedly one in Clement of Alexandria, who tells us that the Greek philosopher Democritus had made a study of the Babylonian ethics, and had incorporated with his own writings a translation of the pillar of Akikar. As the passage is generally understood, Clement is taken to say that we can convict Democritus of plagiarism by observing the way in which he prefixes 'thus saith Democritus' to his own writings: meaning, as I suppose, that the appropriated matter can be isolated from Democritus' own ethical collections. He goes on to speak of Democritus' pride over his travels and his visits to Babylon, Persia and Egypt. In these travels he came across and translated 'the pillar of Akikar.' But here is the passage itself for reference[1]:

> *Δημόκριτος γὰρ τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους λόγους ἠθικοὺς πεποίηται. λέγεται γὰρ τὴν Ἀκικάρου στήλην ἑρμηνευθεῖσαν, τοῖς ἰδίοις συντάξαι συγγράμμασι. κἄστιν ἐπισημήνασθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ, Τάδε λέγει Δημόκριτος, γράφοντος· καὶ μὴν καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ, ᾗ σεμνυνόμενός φησί που ἐπὶ τῇ πολυμαθίᾳ.*

[1] Clem. Alex. 1 *Strom.* ed. Potter, i. 356.

Now it is not easy to find out what Clement means by this. How could Democritus have made Babylonian discourses? And who is Akikar from whose pillar he translated and stole? And how is the composition or transference of the ethical discourses indicated by Democritus?

It seems clear from the whole trend of Clement's argument on the theft from barbarian philosophers by the Greeks, whom a wise man described to Solon as 'aye children,' that he is charging Democritus as well as Solon and Pythagoras with appropriating the ideas and language of other races and teachers.

But can *πεποίηται* bear this meaning? It is not easy to admit that it can. It therefore seems to us that, (if we do not emend to *περιποιεῖται*), either *ἠθικούς* is an error of the text for *ἰδικούς*, or that some word like *ἰδικούς* has dropped out after *ἠθικούς*. So that it means 'Democritus has made the Babylonian [ethic] treatises [his own],' for he incorporates the column of Akikar with his own writings and prefixes the words 'Thus saith Democritus.' Such a proceeding is certainly 'flat burglary,' to be classed along with the Greek thefts from Moses.

The objection to this reconstruction of the passage[1] would seem to lie in the fact that it has already been quoted by Eusebius from Clement in the *Praeparatio Evangelica* in the words *καὶ Δημόκριτος δὲ ἔτι πρότερον τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους λόγους ἠθικοὺς πεποιῆσθαι λέγεται*[2]: so that the error would have to be older than Eusebius. Probably we can overrule this objection by admitting the antiquity of the error; and then we find that we have made excellent sense of a difficult passage by the suggested restoration. Since the writings of Democritus are certainly ethical, we incline to believe that a word has dropped after *ἠθικούς*. The sayings of Aḥiḳar might well be described as *λόγοι Βαβυλώνιοι ἠθικοί*, and then we identify readily the Akikar of Clement with the hero of our legend.

[1] I see that my suggestion has been in part anticipated by Cobet, who proposes to replace *ἠθικούς* by *ἰδίους*.

[2] Lib. x. c. 4.

It is a remarkable fact that not only Clement, but also Theophrastus and Strabo, seem to know something of a man or a book which is in singular agreement with the name of the hero of our tale. Thus Diogenes Laertius[1] tells us that Theophrastus composed *inter alia* a book which is called Ἀκίχαρος: and Strabo in recounting famous persons of antiquity who had 'mantic' gifts enumerates *παρὰ τοῖς* Βοσπορανοῖς Ἀχαίκαρον. The names are closely related to the name in the book of Tobit; and we are inclined to think that they represent one and the same person, and that the story and teaching of Aḥiḳar had early penetrated into Greece[2].

But how, it will be asked, could so early a writer as Democritus be thought to have borrowed ethical precepts from an Assyrian sage, unless we were to assign an extraordinary antiquity to Aḥiḳar, and give a reality to the romance concerning him and to his ethical precepts which is not warranted either by the document itself or by the character of the Apocryphal products with which it is associated?

But the error in this case lies in the other direction, viz. in taking Democritus too seriously. Of the writings which circulate under his name, and of the sayings ascribed to him, many are falsely inscribed. It was easy to refer ethical precepts to the greatest of the Greek ethical teachers. We must not assume that, because Clement of Alexandria assigns a work to Democritus, he was necessarily responsible for it. All that we are

[1] Lib. v. c. 50.

[2] It will be objected (*a*) that Βοσπορανὸς is not a proper description for Aḥiḳar: (*b*) that there is no mention of any pillar upon which his sayings were inscribed, in any of the versions that have come to light. The force of these objections may be diminished by remarking, (*a*) that Βοσπορανοῖς is probably corrupt, (*b*) that although there is no mention of any pillar in the eastern forms of the story, the Aesop legends represent king Lykēros as ordering a golden statue to be erected to Aesop, and they also say that after Aesop had been killed by the Delphians, the oracle required them to propitiate the gods by setting up a pillar to his memory (*στήλην ἀνέστησαν*).

[The objection (*a*) is sustained, for, as Fränkel suggests in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Borsippa, we should read Βορσιππηνὸς and regard Aḥiḳar as a genuine Babylonian from Borsippa.]

entitled to say is that certain works, especially collections of gnomic sayings, passed under his name. Clement, indeed, may affirm that amongst these sayings are certain passages taken by Democritus from the column of Aḥiḳar, but that is merely Clement's criticism of the work.

In any case the modern philosophical writers do not regard the ethical work referred to by Clement as a genuine work of Democritus. Natorp, who is the best editor of the Democritean Fragments, says of the book in question that it is certainly not genuine, and he refers for confirmation to Müller, who in his *Fragments of Greek Historians* had expressed a similar view. There is, therefore, no reason why the question of the relative dates of Democritus and Aḥiḳar should preclude us from identifying the hero of our legend with the writer on ethics to whom Clement, Strabo and Theophrastus refer. Aḥiḳar is certainly, for the ancient world, a great teacher of ethics. As a result of the increasing intercourse between East and West, his precepts as well as his story penetrated into Greece. All that we really want is a little more evidence that sayings like his passed current in Greek collections, and that there are traces of their circulation under the name of Democritus.

In this direction, our first inspection of the Greek gnomic collections, and of Democritus in particular, is likely to be disappointing, for the sayings of Aḥiḳar are Biblical in character and Semitic in tone, whilst those of Democritus are fundamentally Greek. But a little closer study finds some curious points of contact between the two systems.

We observe that Democritus frequently appears in collections of gnomic sayings as *Democrates*, and that, from similarity in the names, the latter often appears in the form *Socrates*[1].

In the Aethiopic *Book of the Wise Philosophers* we have a collection of sayings, translated from the Arabic into the Aethiopic,

[1] e.g. Cornill's *Book of the Wise Philosophers* from the Aethiopic contains an unknown Greek (?) proverb, which in his Frankfort Codex is ascribed to Socrates, but in the Tübingen copy to Demokrates: see Cornill, p. 34.

with names of authors attached. This Arabic collection is based either wholly or in part upon a Syriac collection which underlies it. For it opens with a long preface, of which the first words are:

> 'In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful, in whom is our confidence and our help, we begin with the help of our Lord Jesus Christ to write the book of the wise philosophers etc.'

Here it is easy to see that a Moslem formula has been superposed upon the common preface of the Syrian scribes, as it occurs in hosts of MSS.; the collection is, therefore, either wholly or in part, from a Syriac base.

Amongst the sayings we find fifteen sayings of Aḥiḳar to Nadan, which the reader will find printed below: they agree closely with those in the edited stories and may all be accepted as belonging to the ethics of Aḥiḳar.

The second of these sayings will be found ascribed to *Democrates* in Shahrestani[1].

The thirteenth of the sayings runs as follows: 'It is better to stumble with the foot, than with the tongue; and do not utter any discourse with thy tongue before thou hast taken counsel with thyself.' The first half of the saying is ascribed to *Socrates* in the collections of Maximus[2].

It is not improbable that the saying has found its way into the Parallels of Maximus from a Democritean collection. But as it occurs in the sayings of Aḥiḳar, in Ethiopic and in Syriac, in Arabic and Slavonic, we have a suspicion that there is a coincident ascription of the saying both to Democritus and to Aḥiḳar, and

[1] Ed. Cureton, p. 306, the proverb in question being, 'the tail of a dog gives him meat, his voice gets him blows.'

[2] No. 940. In the collection of Pearls of Rabbi Solomon Ibn Gabirol, the saying is given in an anonymous form, as follows:

No. 357. 'He was wont to say, A slip of the tongue is more dangerous than the slip of the foot, for the slip of the tongue may cost thy head, whilst the slip of the foot may easily be cured.'

[We shall see presently, when we come to discuss Smend's criticisms, that there are a number of further coincidences with Shahrestani.]

that in the proverbial wisdom of the latter it is one of the primitive elements.

While, then, we have not sufficient evidence to decide finally the question of Democritean thefts from Aḥiḳar, enough has been said to establish some probability that Clement of Alexandria did actually refer to sayings of Aḥiḳar, which he found paralleled in a pseudo-Democritean collection. The supposition has the merit of simplicity and explains most of the obscure allusions in the Greek writers referred to above.

But this must not be taken as suggesting that Aḥiḳar was a real person. The circulation of the story in which he is the leading figure, and the separate circulation of his maxims, are sufficient to explain his celebrity. He is as substantial as Tobit, but not more so; the two creations stand or fall, historically, together.

Origen, also, seems to have known something about Aḥiḳar, though we are not able to affirm that his allusions go beyond the references in Tobit. In his famous letter to Africanus, on the question of the canonicity of the story of Susanna, in reply to critical objections made by Africanus, he urges that the captive Jews may really have become wealthy and influential, as they are represented to be in Susanna, for we have the parallel cases of Tobit and *Achiacar*. Here he seems to be referring to the book of Tobit. The question, however, will arise, whether in the context he betrays any knowledge of Aḥiḳar outside the book of Tobit? I think not. Yet it is certainly curious that, a little earlier in his argument, he tries to explain the punishment of the Unfaithful Servant in the Gospel (which we shall presently show to have been influenced by Aḥiḳar), with its perplexing *διχοτομήσει αὐτόν*, and says that this punishment is inflicted by angels in the next world. As we shall see it is this very story in the Gospel that is so remarkably illustrated by the Aḥiḳar legend. But Origen appears to have been led to it by the language in Susanna (*σχίσει σε*), and not by any reflection upon the coincidences between Aḥiḳar and in the New Testament. We cannot, then,

affirm that the knowledge of Aḥiḳar which Origen had goes beyond that which is contained in the book of Tobit.

Before leaving this part of the subject, we draw attention to two further references to Aḥiḳar, one from the West, and the other from the East. The first consists of certain allusions in the recently published *Miscellanea Casinese*. The passage occurs in a tract entitled *Inventiones nominum* from a St Gall codex, No. 130 (Saec. viii.).

> Duo sunt Nadab, unus est Nadab filius Aaron, alius Nadab Tubia qui vivum obruit Achia Caroneum qui se nutrierat.

Correct the text to *Nadab in Tubia* (cf. *Azaria in Tubia* which occurs a little later); and for *Achia Caroneum* read *Achiacarum eum*. There is nothing in this passage that goes beyond the book of Tobit, and it is to Tobit that the writer expressly refers. The Latin of Tobit actually has *vivum deduxit* and *qui eum nutrivit*. It does not, therefore, appear that any fresh source of information has been combined with the book of Tobit[1].

The Eastern reference is in the Lexicon of Bar Bahlul, and does not seem to depend directly upon Tobit, but upon the Syriac and Arabic version of Aḥiḳar. A copy of this lexicon in my possession contains not only the ordinary Syriac and Arabic glosses, with some added ones, but it has also a series of Armenian glosses in Syriac characters[2]. In this MS. we have a Syro-Armenian gloss to the effect that Aḥiḳar (ܐܚܝܩܪ) is the vizier of a king named Ḥaiḳar (ܚܝܩܪ). Here the Syriac legend, as well as the Arabic, has been drawn upon: as is shown by the double spelling and by the allusion to his position as vizier to the king.

We shall now pass on to discuss the relations between Aḥiḳar and the books of the Old and New Testaments.

[1] [A reference should be made to the mosaic of Monnus at Trèves, where Aḥiḳar appears as a well-known sage: the restoration Acicarus from the legible ...*icar*... is due to Studemund. See *Jahrbuch des Kaiserl. Deutschen Archäol. Instituts*, Bd. v. 1890, pp. 1–5. See also B. Lewis' paper on the *Mosaic of Monnus*, p. 12, § v.]

[2] This is the first MS. I have ever seen of Armenian written Syriacè.

CHAPTER V

OF THE STORY OF AḤIḲAR IN RELATION TO TOBIT

We now proceed to examine how the legend of Aḥiḳar stands in relation to the books of the Old and New Testaments, so as to give it its proper chronological position amongst them, and to determine from what books, if any, it makes quotations, and by what books it is itself quoted. We have in part anticipated this enquiry in the discussion of its connexion with the book of Tobit. Let us take up the thread of the argument again at this point.

The main reasons for assuming the priority of the story of Aḥiḳar to that of Tobit are, briefly, as follows.

It has been shown, by a study of the names, that the same persons are intended in the two legends; and it is clear that the allusions in Tobit to Aḥiḳar and Nadan imply that the legend of Aḥiḳar was known to the author of Tobit, and the only question is whether this legend was in its written form or in a traditional and oral dress.

Now it is very difficult to see why Tobit should have thrust in these allusions to Aḥiḳar, which do not really affect his story and are not involved in it by any link of necessity, unless the story had been before the mind of the author of Tobit as a literary model.

Does the placing of the two stories side by side justify us in believing that one of them was the model of the other, and that they are almost a pair of companion pictures?

We may answer this question by pointing to the remarkable

parallels in structure in the two books and to cases in which obscurities in Tobit are explained by the parallels in Aḥiḳar.

Each story has a moral purpose (as all good stories ought to have), Tobit serving to prove that almsgiving is one of the highest virtues, and pays the highest dividend, while Aḥiḳar is written to show how evil comes to him that evil devises.

In the story of Tobit, the departure of the young man to go to Media is made the opportunity for a little treatise on ethics: the section begins c. v. 5, as follows:

> 'All the days do thou remember the Lord our God; and transgress not His commandments'

and it ends c. v. 19,

> 'And now, my child, remember my commandments and let them not be blotted out of thy heart.'

The parallel section in the ethics of Aḥiḳar begins,

> 'My son, listen to my speech, follow my opinion, and keep my words in remembrance[1].

The parallelism in the treatment is sufficiently evident. But there is a closer parallel in the fact that there is common matter in the two ethical sections referred to: we may compare

Tobit iv. 17	with	*Aḥiḳar.*
'Pour out thy bread on the graves of the righteous, and do not give it to sinners[2].'		'My son, pour out thy wine on the graves of the righteous, rather than drink it with evil or common men[3].'

[1] In the Armenian the injunction is at the end of the ethical tract as it is in Tobit, and runs thus:

'Son, receive into thy mind my precepts, and forget them not.'

In the Arabic it stands at the head of the section, as in the Syriac given above:

'O my son, hear my speech and follow my advice and remember what I say.'

[2] A number of authorities for the text of Tobit have the advice in the form 'Pour out thy bread *and thy wine*,' which is perhaps an attempt to correct the incongruity in the language of Tobit. Ball suggests an original Hebrew, 'Portion out (*which might be misread* pour out) thy bread and thy wine in the midst of the righteous'; which restoration is condemned by the parallel in Aḥiḳar.

[3] The Armenian drops the reference to the 'graves of the just,' but the Syriac and Arabic texts support it, and it must certainly be retained.

The comparison between the two texts shows the sense in which Tobit is to be taken. The sentence in Tobit looks like a senseless modification of the corresponding one in Aḥiḳar. For the word 'pour out' is not proper with 'bread,' though it is justified by the parallel in Aḥiḳar.

In the last words of Tobit, we find him telling his son that

Tob. xiv. 10. 'Nadan went down into darkness. Manasses [l. Aḥiḳar] did alms and was saved from the snare of death which Nadan laid for him. Nadan, however, fell into the snare and perished.'

Turn back to Tobit's famous and much-disputed ethical precept:

Tob. iv. 10. 'Alms doth deliver from death, and will not suffer thee to come into darkness.'

A comparison between the two passages shows that the ethical precept of Tobit is deduced from and confirmed by the experience of Aḥiḳar and Nadan. The keynote of the Tobit legend is found already struck in that of Aḥiḳar. Thus the intimate connexion between the two books is brought out. The ethics of Tobit presuppose the experience of Aḥiḳar, just as we have shown above that they presuppose his teaching[1].

Perhaps it will be objected at this point that there is no reason for Tobit's crediting the good Aḥiḳar with the virtue, the saving virtue, of almsgiving, when the extant legends of Aḥiḳar say nothing on the point.

If the omission in the romance of the detail which Tobit suggests were really established, one thing would at all events be clear, viz. that Aḥiḳar was not written to explain the allusions in Tobit: for in that case the leading sentiment in the book has been neglected. So that we should not have banished the theory of the priority of Aḥiḳar by granting the fact of the omission referred to. It could still be held that the prominence which is given to the virtue of almsgiving in Tobit has been artificially

[1] The argument of Tobit that 'alms deliver from death and darkness' becomes generalised in Sirach xxix. 12, 'Alms...shall deliver thee from all affliction.'

projected back upon the earlier story, and the doctrine of charity has been made the link between the two compositions. Such literary artifices are common enough and would suffice to explain the apparent omission in what is suspected to be an earlier document.

But is it so certain that there is no reference to almsgiving in Aḥiḳar? The allusions of Tobit to his story contain a number of details which are evidently parts of a well-established tradition. '*Remember* how Nadab handled Aḥiḳar,' &c. And it may be questioned whether we have a right to detach the statements concerning almsgiving and say of them that these are due to the literary invention of Tobit while the remainder are taken from his sources.

The true solution of the difficulty lies in the denial of the preliminary assumption that there is no mention of almsgiving in Aḥiḳar. May not almsgiving have been replaced by some other term? The students of the New Testament are aware of the confusion which exists in the early texts of the Gospel over the word ἐλεημοσύνη; such, for instance, as gives rise to the variation in Matt. vi. 1 where ἐλεημοσύνη is the equivalent of an Aramaic צדקה (= alms *or* righteousness).

Now in the Old Testament it is only slowly that the equivalence of alms and righteousness becomes sensible. It may be detected, however, in Ps. cxii. 4, 'He is gracious and full of compassion and righteous,' i.e. charitable. And in the book of Daniel (which belongs to the same period as the two romances which we are discussing)[1] we have the perfect equivalence, 'Break off thy sins by *righteousness* and thy iniquity by *showing mercy to the poor*.' And we cannot say that the Greek translation of צדקה by ἐλεημοσύνη belongs to a later age than that of Tobit, seeing that the rendering is found in the Septuagint, in the Pentateuch, which is probably as old as Tobit itself. And in the text of Tobit we have the convincing proof that ἐλεημοσύνη really means *alms*, as

[1] [Aḥiḳar must be older than Tobit and Daniel, if we may judge from the Elephantiné papyrus.]

in such passages as 'Give alms of thy substance' iv. 7; 'If thou hast abundance, give alms accordingly' iv. 8; 'Alms is a good gift' iv. 11; 'It is better to give alms than to lay up gold' xii. 8 (which verse immediately precedes the statement that 'alms doth deliver from death'). In Tobit, therefore, we have, in all probability, an equivalence between the primitive צדקה and ἐλεημοσύνη[1].

The equivalence being established, we have now to examine whether in any passage of Aḥiḳar there is a suggestion of a confusion between 'righteousness' and 'alms.'

The Syriac tells us as follows:

'My son, I set thee upon the seat of honour; and thou hast dragged me down from my seat; but as for me my *righteousness* (ܙܕܘܬܐ) saved me.'

And again:

'My son...thou didst beat my servants who had not done foolishly: and according as God kept me alive on account of my *righteousness* (ܙܕܘܬܐ), so he will destroy thee on account of thy deeds.'

We have only to imagine that this translation is meant to represent a Hebrew צדקה and then we have the complete explanation of what Tobit meant in his references to Aḥiḳar; and we may be confident, in view of the proved consanguinity and contemporaneity of the two stories, that Tobit has given the right interpretation.

The parallel between 'alms doth deliver from death' and 'God kept me alive on account of my almsgiving' would be so close that there would be no residual obscurity in Tobit's references.

If further proofs were wanted of the literary parallelism

[1] Once or twice in Tobit, we actually have a double translation of the original Hebrew: e.g. xii. 9, *οἱ ποιοῦντες ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ δικαιοσύνας*; and cf. xiv. 11, *ἴδετε τί ἐλεημοσύνη ποιεῖ καὶ δικαιοσύνη ῥύεται*: where, if the text be right, there should be a strong stop after *δικαιοσύνη*. Cf. also Tob. ii. 14, *ποῦ εἰσιν αἱ ἐλεημοσύναι σου καὶ αἱ δικαιοσύναι σου*;

[Proverbs xi. 4 appears to be conclusive in favour of the foregoing explanation: 'Riches shall not avail in the day of wrath, but righteousness (צדקה) shall deliver from death': observe the parallelism.]

between the two stories, we might draw attention to the fact that each of the two tales is an autobiography. 'I Tobit' is the nucleus of one tale, 'I Aḥiḳar' of the other. Some of the forms of the latter story obliterate the peculiarity, but it can readily be restored by a comparison of the different versions.

At the close of the book of Tobit the story adds a hymn of praise which Tobit wrote (ἔγραψεν προσευχήν), and this, with some ethical advices from Raphael the angel, and a few supplementary counsels of father to son, ends the book.

At the close of Aḥiḳar, we have a series of anathemas on Nadan, which are also to be committed to writing; 'Write every word that I shall say to the foolish Nadan.' The parallelism is not, however, so close at this point as might have been expected. It is characteristic of compositions of this kind to insert a psalm or a prayer or an ethical tract; such parts of the story need not be original, provided that they can be handled so as to be picturesque. Compare, for example, Jonah's prayer in the belly of the fish, (probably a psalm older than the book of Jonah,) or the Song of the Three Children, which is a similar adaptation of earlier matter. One desiderates something of the kind in Aḥiḳar. There ought to have been a prayer of Aḥiḳar when he was in the pit, to match Tobit's prayer. It should have been, in structure, something like one of the imprecatory Psalms. We shall see, presently, that there are linguistic parallels between Aḥiḳar and certain of the Psalms, which go far to invite the suggestion that an actual prayer of Aḥiḳar may possibly be extant in the Psalter. For the present it is sufficient to say that it would add greatly to the proved consanguinity of Tobit and Aḥiḳar, if such a document could be found and restored to the text.

Reviewing our examination of the literary structure of the two books, we may say that we have proved them to be a pair of companion pictures, and we have given a good many reasons for believing that Aḥiḳar is the earlier work of the two.

A residual difficulty lies in the apparent reference on the part of Tobit to experiences of Aḥiḳar which are not recorded in our

recovered texts. Tobit says that, in his blindness, Aḥiḳar maintained him until he went to Elymais. Dr Dillon suggests that the Hebrew of Aḥiḳar contained a word meaning 'hiding-place' (עלם = to hide), which has been misunderstood as the name of a place. It certainly would be a much better reason why Aḥiḳar left off his care of Tobit, if he were in a hole underground, than if he had merely gone on a journey from Nineveh to Elymais. We may accept this explanation for the present[1].

[1] At the same time I am not quite easy on the point. May not Aḥiḳar have taken a long journey, which may have been the first occasion on which Nadan began to misbehave and to beat the men and the maids? It will be noted that the Gospel, in a passage certainly inspired from the story of Aḥiḳar, prefaces the beating of men and maids by a statement of the absence of the lord of the house on a journey and the assumption on the part of the wicked servant that his master delays his return. If such an incident once formed a part of the earlier sections in Aḥiḳar, we might agree with Tobit in sending Aḥiḳar to Elymais, and find one more phrase caught up from the legend in the Gospel. But here, perhaps, we are in the region of pure speculation. So, for the present, let Dr Dillon's ingenious explanation hold the field.

[The foregoing criticism has largely been justified by the discovery of the papyrus fragments from Elephantiné, to which we give special attention later on. Certainly the discovery of an Aramaic story of Aḥiḳar in the fifth century before Christ reverses entirely the judgment of those critics who laboured so hard to prove that Aḥiḳar was a late composition, inferior in date to Tobit.]

CHAPTER VI

ON THE RELATION OF AḤIḲAR TO THE BOOKS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS

Assuming then that the previous investigations have rightly classed Tobit and Aḥiḳar together, and have rightly given the earlier place to the latter of the two books, we must examine into the general relations that subsist between Aḥiḳar and the books of the Old and New Testaments. It is generally conceded that the book of Tobit was written not later than 100 B.C., and perhaps as early as 150 B.C. So that we can hardly place Aḥiḳar later than 150 B.C., and may have to set it even earlier. [Our singularly modest claim for an early date of Aḥiḳar looks almost absurd in the light of the recovered papyrus: we asked for at least the second century B.C. and have been rewarded with documentary evidence of the fifth century!] What books would most likely have influenced a legend produced at such a time and in such a quarter? If we may judge from the case of Tobit the answer would be readily given; for Tobit is under the influence of the prophets. Amongst his references to them will be found direct quotations from Amos, a direct allusion to Jonah's prophecy over Nineveh, and some passages on the future splendour of Jerusalem which go back to Isaiah. It is curious to remark that in Aḥiḳar the coincidences are chiefly with the Wisdom books; the general resemblance between the ethics of Aḥiḳar and Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Sirach has been observed by earlier students. The form into which the ethical precepts are cast, each sentence of the teaching beginning with a τέκνον μου, is the same as is found in Sirach, and in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. It is the old-world way

of teaching amongst the Jews. It will be a question whether, in all the cases referred to, the borrowing is on the side of Aḥiḳar. In the case of coincidences with Sirach, for example, it is a question whether the priority is not with Aḥiḳar. Take, for instance, the case referred to above, where Sirach teaches that 'alms will deliver from all affliction.' The form is a modification of what we find in Tobit, to the effect that alms delivers from death and darkness, and these terms refer to the experience of Aḥiḳar.

What seems certain is that there is common matter in Sirach and Aḥiḳar. For instance, in Sir. iv. 26 we have *μὴ βιάζου ῥοῦν ποταμοῦ*, for which the Syriac of Sirach has 'do not stand up against a fool': the critics advise us to read, not נבל, *a fool*, but נחל, *a river*. In Aḥiḳar we have the precept 'not to stand against a river in its fulness[1].'

More striking still is Sir. xxii. 14, 15, 'What is heavier than lead, and what is the name thereof, but a fool? Sand and salt and a mass of iron is easier to bear, than a man without understanding[2].' This finds a parallel in Prov. xxvii. 3, 'A stone is heavy and sand weighty: but a fool's wrath is heavier than them both.' But a much nearer parallel is found in Aḥiḳar, who tells us, 'My son, I have carried salt and have removed lead; and I have not seen anything heavier than that a man should pay a debt that he did not borrow. My son, I have carried iron and have removed stones, and they were not so burdensome to me as a man who sits in the house of his father-in-law.' It is difficult to settle priority in such cases: nor are we much helped by the parallels in the other versions, besides the Syriac from which we quoted above. The Armenian has, 'Son, I have eaten endive and I have drunk gall, and it was not more bitter than poverty. I have lifted salt and I have lifted lead, and it was not heavier than is debt. I have lifted iron and I have lifted stones upon my shoulders, and it was

[1] [The parallels between Aḥiḳar and Sirach will be found collected in Nau's edition.]

[2] [As this saying is in the papyrus, in a closely-related form, we need not doubt that it is a part of the original, and that Sirach has taken it from Aḥiḳar.]

better for me than to dwell with the ignorant and the foolish.' Of this sentence the first part is preserved in the Arabic in the form, 'O my son! I have eaten a colocynth and swallowed myrrh, and I have found nothing more bitter than poverty and scarcity[1].'

But the latter part of the saying is wanting in the Arabic. The Slavonic, however, preserves both parts in a somewhat simpler form. It does not, then, seem likely that these sentences have come into Aḥiḳar through copyists: they must be primitive: and the only question will be which of the two, Sirach and Aḥiḳar, has influenced the other. Perhaps it will be better to leave the question open, until we have more light on the first form of the sayings of Aḥiḳar: he might reasonably object to our laying on him the burden of a debt to Sirach which he did not really owe. The parallelisms, however, should be carefully noted.

[Here again our editorial modesty has been abundantly rewarded: for we have amongst the papyrus fragments sufficient evidence to show that the sayings we have been discussing have parallels in the fifth century document!]

A similar coincidence of thought and expression between Aḥiḳar and the book of Proverbs should also be remarked: most of those who have written on Aḥiḳar's gnomic sayings have drawn attention to it. This parallelism becomes peculiarly striking in the closing words of Aḥiḳar's teaching. For at this point we appear to strike a fresh stratum of sayings: the text contains sentences in the manner of the prophecy of Agur in Prov. xxx., in which the characters, persons and things are arranged in numerical groups: e.g. in Prov. xxx. 21, 'For three things the earth is disquieted and for four which it cannot bear': and Prov. xxx. 24, 'There be four things which are little upon the earth, but they are exceeding wise, &c.' Compare with this the following sentences from the Cambridge Syriac: 'There are four things together, which no king can stand'...; 'there are four which cannot remain hidden.'

[1] The exchange of *myrrh* and *gall* can be illustrated from the Gospels.

These sentences do not occur in the Armenian, but in the place of them we find a number of similar groups such as, 'Four things increase the light to men's eyes': 'four things bring tears to the eyes': 'four things improve a man's banquet': and what is remarkable in these groups is that they are expressly said, in the Armenian, to be taken from a separate collection, entitled

'The questions of the king's sons and the answers of Khikar.'

The king's sons are named, they are Houday and Baliayn, and here we are able to throw light upon the mysterious Ithiel and Ucal, who are spoken of in Prov. xxx., to whom Agur addressed his epigrams. Evidently they are two inquisitive young gentlemen, who serve to bring out the wisdom of the sage and are probably a king's sons. Viewed in this light, we can get rid of some of the perplexities which ancient and modern translators and commentators have found in the passage. Agur himself is a kind of double of Aḥiḳar, and the compositions referred to may be classed together. It seems likely, then, that the extant versions of Aḥiḳar present us with fragments from more extended collections. And of the consanguinity of such collections with the Biblical Proverbs there can be no doubt[1].

Another difficult question is the connexion between Aḥiḳar and certain of the Psalms. In the present day, when the Psalter is in process of critical disintegration, and its authorship is being redistributed, we are able to apply a freer criticism to the matter of the Psalms, and to allow a longer chronology to the whole collection. David no longer divides the authorship with Moses and Asaph. There is, therefore, nothing unreasonable in a suggestion made above that amongst the Psalms there may be a lost Psalm or prayer of Aḥiḳar. We are, to be sure, in the region of pure conjecture, and all that we can say with certainty is that

[1] Jerome takes Agur to be the equivalent of compiler, and renders the word 'Congregans.' If we could only be sure that he was right, we could use the interpretation of Hebrew names, which makes the same translation for Asaph. We should then be able to connect Agur and Asaph together, as we shall presently be obliged to do with Aḥiḳar and Asaph. But this is again mere speculation.

there are a number of Psalms, of a vindictive type, which are singularly appropriate to the condition of Aḥiḳar in the pit, and one or two which are curiously coincident with his language in the legend that has come down to us. And these coincidences, while they do not suffice for more than suggestions of the literary fitness in the story of a Psalm or prayer of the distressed sage, are abundantly sufficient to prove the Hebraistic character of the original document from which our extant versions are derived. So that we gain something, even by the perilous practice of speculating.

The best way of studying the parallels in thought and language between Aḥiḳar and the Psalms, is to take a special Psalm, say the 141st, and read it in the light of the recovered legend. We may compare as follows:

Psalm cxli. 4.

'Incline not my heart to any evil thing, to practise wicked works with men that work iniquity, and let me not eat of their dainties.'

Aḥiḳar.

'O my son, be not neighbour to the fool, and eat not bread with him.'

Psalm cxli. 5.

'Let the righteous smite me: it shall be a kindness: and let him reprove me: it shall be an excellent oil which shall not break my head.'

Aḥiḳar.

'O my son, let the wise man beat thee with a rod: but let not the fool anoint thee with sweet salve.'

or comparing the text of the LXX.,

'The righteous shall chastise me in mercy, and confute me: but let not the oil of sinners anoint my head.'

Psalm cxli. 10.

'Let the wicked fall into their own nets, whilst that I withal escape.'

Aḥiḳar.

'For he who digs a pit for his brother shall fall into it; and he who sets traps shall be caught in them.'

Whether, then, the Psalms contain an actual memorial of Aḥiḳar or not, the coincidences in thought and expression are a very strong argument for a belief in the original Hebrew structure of the story.

We will now leave the discussion of the connexion between the legend of Aḥiḳar and the Wisdom books and the Psalms, having established that there is between them a good deal of common matter and a good deal of similar expression. We turn now to a book which appears to belong to the same time and to the same region as Aḥiḳar, in search of more exact coincidences. We refer to the book of Daniel.

First of all there are a good many expressions describing Assyrian life, which appear also in Daniel and may be a part of the stock-in-trade of an Eastern story-teller in ancient times. I mean such expressions as, 'O king, live for ever!' 'I clad him in byssus and purple; and a gold collar did I bind around his neck.' (Armenian, p. 25, cf. Dan. v. 16.) More exact likeness of speech will be found in the following sentence from the Arabic version, in which Aḥiḳar is warned by the '*magicians, astrologers* and *soothsayers*' that he will have no child. Something of the same kind occurs in the Arabic text, when the king of Egypt sends his threatening letter to the king of Assyria, and the latter gathers together his 'nobles, philosophers, and wise men, and astrologers.' The Slavonic drops all this and says, 'It was revealed to me by *God*, no child will be born of thee.' 'He caused all the wise men to be gathered together.' In the Armenian it is, 'there was a voice from the gods'; 'he sent and mustered the satraps.' The language, however, in the Arabic recalls certain expressions in Daniel: e.g.

Dan. ii. 2. 'The king sent to call the magicians, the astrologers, the sorcerers and the Chaldeans.'

So in Dan. ii. 27: in Dan. v. 7, 'astrologers, Chaldeans, and soothsayers,' &c.

It will be seen that the expressions in Daniel are closely parallel to those in the Arabic Aḥiḳar.

Again, when the king of Assyria is in perplexity as to what he shall answer to the king of Egypt, he demands advice from Nadan who has succeeded to his uncle's place in the kingdom. Nadan ridicules the demands of the Pharaoh. 'Build a castle in

the air! The gods themselves cannot do this, let alone men!' We naturally compare the reply of the consulted Chaldeans in Daniel ii. 11, 'There is no one who can answer the matter before the king, *except the gods*, whose dwelling is not with flesh.'

When Aḥiḳar is brought out of his hiding-place and presented to the king, we are told that his hair had grown very long and reached his shoulders, while his beard had grown to his breast. '*My nails*,' he says, '*were like the claws of eagles* and my body had become withered and shapeless.'

We compare the account of Nebuchadnezzar, after he had been driven from amongst men (see iv. 30); 'until his hairs were grown like eagles' [feathers] and his nails like birds' [claws].'

עד די שערה כנשרין רבה
וטפרוהי כצפרין :

The parallelism between these passages is tolerably certain; and the text in Aḥiḳar is better than that of Daniel. The growth of the nails must be expressed in terms of eagles' talons, and not of the claws of little birds: and the hair ought to be compared with wild beasts, as is the case in some of the Aḥiḳar versions.

There are also some curious linguistic parallels between Aḥiḳar and Daniel, which will be noted later on.

It seems, then, to be highly probable that one of the writers in question was acquainted with the other; for it is out of the question to refer all these coincidences to a later perturbation in the text of Aḥiḳar from the influence of the Bible. Some, at least, of them must be primitive coincidences. But in referring such coincidences to the first form of Aḥiḳar, we have lighted upon a pretty problem. For one of the formulae in question, that namely which describes the collective wisdom of the Babylonians, is held by modern critics to be one of the proofs of late date in the book of Daniel.

Accordingly Sayce says[1], 'Besides the proper names [in Daniel] there is another note of late date. "The Chaldeans" are coupled

[1] *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, p. 533.

with the "magicians," the "astrologers" and the "sorcerers," just as they are in Horace or other classical writers of a similar age. The Hebrew and Aramaic equivalent of the Greek or Latin "Chaldeans" is Kasdim (Kasdâyin), a name the origin of which is still uncertain. But its application in the earlier books of the Bible is well known. It denoted the Semitic Babylonians....After the fall of the Babylonian empire the word Chaldean gradually assumed a new meaning ...it became the equivalent of "sorcerer" and magician.... In the eyes of the Assyriologist the use of the word Kasdim in the book of Daniel would alone be sufficient to indicate the date of the work with unerring certainty.'

Now it is certainly an interesting fact that in the story of Aḥiḳar the perplexing Chaldeans are absent from the enumeration. This confirms us in a suspicion that Aḥiḳar has not been borrowing from Daniel, either in the first form of the legend or in later versions. For if he had been copying into his text a passage from Daniel to heighten the narrative, why should he omit the Chaldeans? The author had not, certainly, been reading Prof. Sayce's proof that they were an anachronism. The hypothesis is, therefore, invited that in Aḥiḳar we have a prior document to Daniel: but we will not press the argument unduly, because we are not quite certain as to the text of the primitive Aḥiḳar[1].

And now let us leave the Old Testament, and pass on to the coincidences between Aḥiḳar and the New Testament. It has been already remarked that there is a suggestion of an acquaintance with the story of Aḥiḳar in the parable of the wicked servant. I believe it was Dr James who first drew attention to this point[2]. He expresses himself to the following effect:

'Our Lord's parable of the wicked servant who begins to be drunken and to beat the servants, and is finally "cut in sunder" by his master on his sudden return (Matt. xxiv. 48), finds a striking

[1] Also we are not blind to the fact that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has hung a Damocles sword over all who meddle with the Daniel-problem. In a foot-note attached to the xith chapter of Prof. Sayce's book, we are informed that 'some of Prof. Sayce's views are not shared by other authorities'!

[2] *Apocrypha Anecdota*, ii. p. 158, note 1.

parallel in the career of Nadan, the nephew of Achikar. This young man, we read, when he had treacherously got rid of his uncle, gathered his disreputable friends together and began to "eat and to drink," and took the men-servants and maid-servants and scourged and tormented them: and, finally, when Achikar had unexpectedly emerged again, swelled up on a sudden and burst. As the story was clearly popular and is also clearly pre-Christian, it would be no strange thing if the parable had borrowed a trait or two upon it.'

Now, if Dr James is right, as we do not doubt that he is, the conclusion is capable of being expressed in a stronger form. It is not the Parable that has borrowed, but the Parabolizer; and *a new volume has accordingly been added to our Lord's library.* Moreover it is not a question of a trait or two. The whole idea of the parable of the bad servant whose master unexpectedly returns is borrowed from the legend of Aḥiḳar, just as truly as the sign of the prophet Jonah is appropriated in another oracular passage. We might almost head the parable to which reference has been made with the words, 'The sign of the sage Aḥiḳar.' The coincidences, then, which have been noted by Dr James are of the highest value.

And there really seems no doubt, in this case, that the passage of Aḥiḳar referred to belongs to the first form of the story. The unexpected return of Aḥiḳar (as if from the dead) is necessary to the moral action of the drama and cannot be omitted: the beating of the men and maids is two or three times alluded to in the story. It is a fundamental thought of the narrative. And the 'eating and drinking with the drunken' of which the parable speaks has its exact parallel in the account of Nadan's gathering worthless fellows together, who begin to eat and drink and dance and sing. So we need have no hesitation in making the parallels. The superior antiquity of the legend to the parable comes out also in the punishment that is meted out in the two cases. The form in the legend appears to have been modified in the parable. The account as it stands

in the Gospel is a part of the 'double tradition' of Matthew and Luke. It stands as follows in the edited Greek Testament (W. & H.).

Mt. xxiv. 48—51.

Ἐὰν δὲ εἴπῃ ὁ κακὸς δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ, Χρονίζει μου ὁ κύριος, καὶ ἄρξηται τύπτειν τοὺς συνδούλους αὐτοῦ, ἐσθίῃ δὲ καὶ πίνῃ μετὰ τῶν μεθυόντων, ἥξει ὁ κύριος τοῦ δούλου ἐκείνου ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ οὐ προσδοκᾷ καὶ ἐν ὥρᾳ ᾗ οὐ γινώσκει, καὶ διχοτομήσει αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν θήσει· ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων.

Lu. xii. 45, 46.

Ἐὰν δὲ εἴπῃ ὁ δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ, Χρονίζει ὁ κύριός μου ἔρχεσθαι, καὶ ἄρξηται τύπτειν τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς παιδίσκας, ἐσθίειν τε καὶ πίνειν καὶ μεθύσκεσθαι, ἥξει ὁ κύριος τοῦ δούλου ἐκείνου ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ οὐ προσδοκᾷ καὶ ἐν ὥρᾳ ᾗ οὐ γινώσκει, καὶ διχοτομήσει αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων θήσει.

The two accounts clearly proceed from a common source. But Luke is more true to the source than Matthew, for he has preserved the 'young men and maidens' from the Aḥiḳar story, instead of the less correct 'fellow-servants.'

But what shall we say of the peculiar *διχοτομήσει* which certainly comes from the source? It looks as if we had here a modification of the offensive details in the death of Nadan.

The story suggested the consequence 'and he will split asunder [or burst]': the Gospel modifies this to 'and he will split him asunder.' The modification was probably an easy one to make, though, when made, it has caused great perplexity to commentators. It had probably already been made in the common source from which Matthew and Luke derive.

The concluding part of the Parable sums up the punishment of the wicked servant in the world, 'and he will appoint him his portion with the hypocrites (infidels).' What this means is clear from what follows in Matt., that 'there will be wailing and gnashing of teeth,' i.e. Nadan goes into darkness. We may compare a similar expression in Matt. xxv. 30 (cf. Matt. xxii. 13);

'Cast the worthless servant to the outer dark;
There will be wailing and gnashing of teeth.'

And this agrees with Tobit's version of the recompence of Nadan: 'Nadan went down to darkness' (Cod. B), which the Sinaitic

Codex makes to be eternal darkness. It is probable that the first form of the story contented itself with the statement that Aḥiḳar came out to the light, and Nadan went down to the dark. The extant versions make the same eschatological expansion as the Tobit MSS., and certainly in our Lord's time the story was not limited in its denouement to the fact that Nadan was thrown into a dark place and that he subsequently burst asunder. So that if the first form wanted something in the shape of future punishment, as distinct from present retribution, the omission was rapidly repaired. Observe further that the original story has certainly undergone contraction as well as expansion; for the versions and later adaptations either modify or get rid of the objectionable details of Nadan's bursting asunder. This theatrical proceeding is in itself a mark of early date. It probably was a conventional ending for objectionable men and animals: since we find that the dragon in Bel and the Dragon dies in the same manner, and so does the poisonous snake in one of the stories in the Acts of Thomas[1]. But the Aḥiḳar legends show that it had a tendency to disappear: the Slavonic drops it entirely, no doubt because the details were offensive to Greek readers. The Aesop story has also simplified the matter of Nadan's ending: one recension makes Ennos (Nadan) so smitten in his conscience by the teaching of Aesop (Aḥiḳar) that he dies not many days after: (*τῇ οἰκείᾳ συνειδήσει οἷά τινι βέλει πληγεὶς τὴν ψυχήν, μετ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας τὸν βίον μετήλλαξεν*). According to another recension he is so smitten by remorse that he hangs himself[2].

We have now shown that the parallel passages in the Gospel to the Aḥiḳar legends are so close as to imply an actual acquaintance with the latter on the part of the former, and we have

[1] But in this case the parallel of the snake with Judas is suggested; for he says 'There was a great pit in the place where the poison of the snake fell. And Judas Thomas commanded to fill up that place and make in it houses, as *places of entertainment for strangers*.' The language reminds one of Matthew, and the bursting of the snake of Acts.

[2] So Benfey, *Kleinere Schriften*, p. 191, following Westermann's text.

found that the modification of the original story involved in the Evangelical 'cutting in sunder' is only one out of a number of similar attempts to get rid of the coarseness of the first form of the legend.

But these statements with regard to the primitive form of the account of Nadan's death need a closer study on account of an important parallel case in the New Testament.

As is well known, the story of the end of Judas Iscariot has come down to us in a variety of forms. In the first place it is not easy to reconcile the account in Matthew xxvii. 5 which ends *καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἀπήγξατο* with the passage that is let into the middle of Peter's speech in Acts i. 18, 19 (*οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἐκτήσατο χωρίον ἐκ μισθοῦ τῆς ἀδικίας καὶ πρηνὴς γενόμενος ἐλάκησεν μέσος, καὶ ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ*). Nor does this last passage agree with the account of the purchase of the Field of Blood in the Gospel. Then we have an extraordinary account from Papias which relates how Judas swelled up to such an extent that he could hardly walk about and was finally crushed by a passing waggon which he was unable to avoid (*πρησθεὶς γὰρ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τὴν σάρκα, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι διελθεῖν, ἁμάξης ῥαδίως διερχομένης, ὑπὸ τῆς ἁμάξης ἐπιέσθη, ὥστε τὰ ἔγκατα αὐτοῦ ἐκκενωθῆναι*). And this account is so opposed to that in the Gospel and to that in the Acts of the Apostles, that even the most subtle of harmonists would despair of finding a reconciliation. Nor is it easy to see how Papias who gives such an account can be credited with an acquaintance with the Gospel of Matthew. The story, as Papias gives it, is in a certain sense apologetic: he is explaining away a miracle, viz. the swelling up and bursting asunder of Judas. The former is a gradual process, the latter the result of an accident. Behind Judas there appears the figure of the wicked Nadan. But if we imagine in the Acts of the Apostles the awkward *πρηνὴς γενόμενος* replaced by *πρησθεὶς*[1]

[1] As in the Armenian and Georgian Versions and in the Arm. Comm. of Chrysostom (*F. C. C.*). [Dr Chase has recently made the interesting suggestion that *πρηνὴς* does not mean *pronus*, but that it is exactly = *πρησθείς* and is a medical term:

we have the same features, and the two accounts become closely related. Moreover the account in Matthew is seen to be one more attempt to get rid of the first form of the story, precisely as in one of the lives of Aesop, in which Ennus is so smitten by remorse that he hangs himself. The suggestion, therefore, is offered that the original statement concerning the end of Judas was to the effect that he swelled up and burst asunder. The account of his death is an imitation of the death of Nadan.

And certainly the characters in question are sufficiently alike to provoke a reaction from one story to the other. The ingratitude which is the cardinal sin of Nadan is also the worst part of Judas' treacherous conduct. As Strauss remarked in dealing with the quotation from the Psalms, 'He that eateth bread with me hath lifted up his heel against me,' 'the expression "which doth eat of my bread" indicates a relation of dependency, a bond of gratitude violated by the unfaithful friend,' and this certainly is as good a summary of conduct in one of the cases before us as in the other. So we need not be surprised if Aḥiḳar should furnish the key to the genesis of the Judas legends.

There are several other places in the Gospels where a reference to expressions in Aḥiḳar has been detected, but they are largely illusory. For instance, an attempt has been made to connect Aḥiḳar's parable of the unfruitful tree planted by the water with the denunciations of John the Baptist ('Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit' &c.), or with our Lord's parable of the barren fig-tree. The latter reference is much nearer to Aḥiḳar than the former on account of the expressions 'Its master was firm to cut it down'...'Let me alone this year...If I do not bear fruit, cut me down,' and it is just possible that the supposed references may justify us in inferring dependence upon the Aḥiḳar legend. Much more doubtful is the attempt made by a writer in the *Revue Biblique* for Apr. 1898 to connect with the ethics of Aḥiḳar the remark of the Pharisee who entertained

in that case we have no need to emend the Greek; Papias is intelligible without altering the text.]

our Lord at the time when the sinful woman anointed him with costly ointment. For it is said that the reason of the remark 'This man, if he had been a prophet, would have known what kind of woman touched him; for she is a sinner,' lies in the precept 'Let the wise man beat thee with a rod, but let not the fool [i.e. the sinner] anoint thee with sweet salve.' The suggestion that Simon the Pharisee had in his mind the precept of Aḥiḳar is ingenious enough, but it detracts from the naturalness of the conversation at the table. To assume an implied expansion of Simon's remarks by the words 'For it is written, Let not the fool anoint thee with sweet salve' would indeed emphasise the respect in which Aḥiḳar's precepts were held, but it would be at the expense of the simplicity of the story.

A much more likely case of transference will be found in one of Aḥiḳar's parables which appears to be referred to in 2 Pet. ii. 22. The following reproach upon Nadan is found in the Karshuni texts and with some modifications in the Armenian and in the Syriac.

> 'My son, thou hast behaved like the swine which went to the bath with people of quality, and when he came out, saw a stinking drain, and went and rolled himself in it.'

Here we find the explanation of the Petrine proverb,

ὗς λουσαμένη εἰς κυλισμὸν βορβόρου,

where the parallel in Aḥiḳar helps us to translate *ὗς λουσαμένη* not as 'the sow that was washed,' but as 'the sow that went to the bath.'

The question will arise whether this parable of Aḥiḳar is to be credited to the first form of the story; and on this point the following considerations are of importance:

(i) The parable is very appropriate to Nadan, who has been well educated, but whose disposition is not changed.

(ii) The second epistle of Peter knows that it is a proverb, 'a true proverb,' and in these literatures proverbs are found in collections. We have to allow for the early existence of some

such parable as Aḥiḳar's bathed pig in order to explain the allusion in 2 Peter.

(iii) Democritus who is charged by Clement with having pilfered from Aḥiḳar has something very like the same sentiment. For according to Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 75 *ὕες γάρ φησιν ἥδονται βορβόρῳ μᾶλλον ἢ καθαρῷ ὕδατι καὶ ἐπὶ φορυτῷ μαργαίνουσι κατὰ Δημόκριτον.*

But to this last point there is the objection that perhaps only the second half of the sentence belongs to Democritus and that the first half may be a popular proverb without an author's name. This view is confirmed by Plutarch, *De Sanitate* 14, where there is a reference to

συσὶν ἐπὶ φορυτῷ μαργανούσαις, ὡς ἔφη Δημόκριτος.

Upon the whole, there is something to be said for the antiquity of the proverb, and for its adaptation from Aḥiḳar into the second epistle of Peter. And reviewing the cases of parallelism in thought and language to which we have drawn attention, we may say that the Aḥiḳar legend is employed in the following books of the Old and New Testaments, viz.

(*α*) Tobit (certainly).
(*β*) Daniel (doubtfully).
(*γ*) Parable of the Wicked Servant (certainly).
(*δ*) In the Judas legends (Biblical and extra-Biblical) (probably).
(*ε*) In the parable of the Barren Fig-tree (probably).
(*ζ*) In the second epistle of Peter (certainly).

Other suggested references we have discarded. There are perhaps a few other parallels in the New Testament to which a certain degree of attention is due. Aḥiḳar's statement that 'God is with the weak that he may astonish the strong' should be compared with 1 Cor. i. 27, 'God hath chosen the weak things of the world that he may confound the strong.' It does not occur in the Cambridge Syriac. And the proverb that one should 'visit the poor in his affliction and speak of him in the Sultan's presence and do one's diligence to save him from the mouth of the lion'

furnishes an excellent illustration of 2 Tim. iv. 17, 'at my first answer no man stood by me...but the Lord stood by me and strengthened me, and I was delivered from the mouth of the lion.' The parallel is not quite as strong in the Syriac, which simply says 'My son, help thy friend before the ruler, that thou mayest help him from the lion.'

Another curious parallel will be found in 1 Cor. v. 11, where the Apostle directs the Corinthians that 'if one that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or drunkard, or rapacious, with such an one not even to eat' (*τῷ τοιούτῳ μηδὲ συνεσθίειν*). Here we should compare the sentence of Aḥiḳar:

'My son, with a man that is shameless, *not even to eat bread.*' [*Or perhaps,* it is not proper even to eat.]

A few more references may be gleaned from the margins of our translations. It is not necessary to allude to them more definitely.

We have sufficiently established the antiquity of the legend of Aḥiḳar, its priority to the New Testament, and its literary position amongst a certain group of books of the Old Testament. And this is as far as we can hope to take the matter in a preliminary investigation.

Observe now how the foregoing analysis of the Biblical and semi-Biblical parallels in Aḥiḳar helps us to understand the relatively late period of the Aesop legends. For the peculiarities to which we have made reference have either wholly disappeared from the Greek account, or have been so changed as hardly to allow of recognition. There is no common matter, worth speaking of, between Tobit and Aesop. 'My sister's son, Nadan' has become a young gentleman of good birth and breeding whom Aesop adopts. A similar state of things holds on comparing the Evangelical parallels with Aesop: there is, in the latter, no beating of men and maids, no revelry and no riot. Judas does not find a parallel, for the young man dies of remorse and takes his time about it. There is no beating for him, no black hole, and

no bursting asunder. There are none of the characteristic expressions of Daniel, for Aesop who has been hidden away in a tomb is brought before the king without the growth of eagle's talons and only—very dirty (*αὐχμῶν καὶ ῥυπῶν*). And even the pig that went to the bath has disappeared!

When we add to this the remark that the scene has been shifted from Nineveh to Babylon, which implies a later historical standpoint, and that the Pharaoh of Egypt has been named Nectanebus, after the very last of the Pharaohs, which again suggests a much later time than Nectanebus if we are to allow sufficient historical parallax to make him appear as a contemporary of Sennacherib, it is difficult to understand how Meissner could have arrived at the conclusion that the Aesop story was our earliest representative of the legends of Aḥiḳar.

Perhaps we ought to say a few words before leaving this part of the enquiry, in extenuation of the offence which we may be held to have committed in putting an almost unknown composition into a position of quasi-Biblical dignity. We are rightly inclined to treat questions of Canon and authority in a spirit of conservatism, and this leads us to hesitate before we declare a canonical writing to be apocryphal or an apocryphal writing to be canonical. A slight intensification of the same sentiment may lead to an objection to the admission of an unknown stranger even into the ranks of the Apocrypha.

But we must be on our guard against irrational prejudices. The study of Church History reminds us that few things have made the Church more ridiculous than its struggle to retain in the Canon works which, on any intelligible theory of a Canon, required a separate classification. If we may not struggle to retain books in the Canon which belong elsewhere, neither may we determine to reject books from a place either in the Canon or amongst the deutero-canonical books, except as the result of a scientific investigation. The Church, not many centuries since, made a desperate effort to retain Tobit in the Canon: they would have fought equally hard to prevent its

inclusion, if it had been outside the Canon. That is, the Church would, in either case, have acted irrationally from an impulse of conservative caution[1].

In England, moreover, the Church was not only absurdly conservative in the matter of the Canon, so as to abandon the freedom of criticism practised by Luther and Calvin, but it became positively reactionary. A spirit arose which insisted on the reversal of scientific verdicts, and at the Restoration the Savoy Conference crushed Puritanism, as it supposed, by 'carrying it for Bel and the Dragon.' In crushing Puritanism it created the English Nonconformist movement. How ridiculous such an attitude of mind looks at the present day!

It is right to admit, on the other hand, that both sides discussed the Canon too much in the light of the burning theological disputes of the day. Tobit does not become uncanonical, as so many of the Puritans supposed[2], because it detracts from the honour due to Christ by making an angel offer up Tobit's prayers to God, nor because the maxim that 'alms deliver from death' was reckoned to be antagonistic to the doctrine of salvation by faith in Christ alone. One would have supposed that a little exegetical freedom would have got over such difficulties. It is doubtful, however, whether they would have succeeded in moving Tobit out of the Canon by merely critical questioning. By the time the critical spirit has been completely developed, the majority of the books of the Bible have become more or less apocryphal, and the gulf between Canon and Apocrypha has filled up again. So we will not be too hard on the reformers for using their tools sometimes inartistically: they at all events saved, and in that sense, made for us the English Bible; and by their sharp criticism of the Canonical Scriptures at their

[1] Whitaker, *De Sac. Litt.* lib. i. p. 79. 'Et quidni etiam Aesopi fabulas in Canone reponi dixerim, si id Ecclesiae vestrae visum fuerit? Si enim Scriptura ab Ecclesia authoritate deserta non magis valet, quam Aesopi fabulae, ut vester quidem non obscure affirmat, quidni fieri etiam posse existimemus, ut Aesopi fabulae in Canone reponantur, si modo Ecclesiae vestrae authoritas accesserit?'

[2] Cf. Rainolds, *Censura lib. apoc.*

weakest points, they postponed the day of their more thorough criticism until, by the grace of God, we should be better able to bear it.

Nevertheless it is difficult to avoid a little cynicism as we reflect on some of the points that were contended. 'Do alms deliver from death, or do they not?' An obscure novelist of the first or second century before Christ reads in, or reads into, a story of slightly earlier date than his own[1] the maxim that Providence is on the side of the heaviest subscribers. He tells us that a mythical character, named Aḥiḳar, escaped from imprisonment and death because his name was in the benefaction lists of Heaven. The sentences which tell us this become Offertory sentences, and the general statement becomes a burning theological question. The whole Church, from the second century, endorses Tobit and Tobit's soteriology, and the Councils take up the wondrous tale and put their imprimatur on a gloss of the *Arabian Nights*. In this way our theology is made for us.

Bearing in mind, then, the habitual perversity which has marked the line of theological progress, let us not be too adverse to Aḥiḳar and his wonderful experiences. We only propose to put him, as we have said, into the penumbra of the Biblical literature, and to make him what opticians call a ragged edge in the general field of view.

[1] [Here again the time-limit for Aḥiḳar must be raised in harmony with freshly found texts.]

CHAPTER VII

ON THE USE OF THE LEGEND OF AḤIḲAR IN THE KORAN AND ELSEWHERE

We pass on, in the next place, to point out that the legend of Aḥiḳar was known to Mohammed, and that he has used it in a certain Sura of the Koran.

There is nothing *à priori* improbable in this, for the Koran is full of Jewish Haggada and Christian legends, and where such sources are not expressly mentioned, they may often be detected by consulting the commentaries upon the Koran in obscure passages. For example, the story of Abimelech and the basket of figs, which appears in the *Last Words of Baruch*, is carried over into the Koran, as we have shown in our preface to the Apocryphon in question. It will be interesting if we can add another volume to Mohammed's library, or to the library of the teacher from whom he derived so many of his legends.

The 31st Sura of the Koran is entitled

LOḲMAN

and it contains the following account of a sage of that name.

'We heretofore bestowed wisdom on Loḳman and commanded him, saying, Be thou thankful unto God: for whoever is thankful, shall be thankful to the advantage of his own soul: and if any shall be unthankful, verily God is self-sufficient and worthy to be praised. And remember when Loḳman said unto his son, as he admonished him,

O my son, Give not a partner unto God, for polytheism is a great impiety.

* * * * * *

O my son, verily every matter, whether good or bad, though it be of the weight of a grain of mustard-seed, and be hidden in a rock, or in the heavens, God will bring the same to light: for God is clear-sighted and knowing.

O my son, be constant at prayer, and command that which is just, and forbid that which is evil, and be patient under the afflictions that shall befall thee: for this is a duty absolutely incumbent upon all men.

* * * * * *

And be moderate in thy pace, and lower thy voice, for the most ungrateful of all voices surely is the voice of asses.'

* * * * * *

Now concerning this Loḳman, there has been much throwing about of brains (as Shakespeare would say) by the commentators and the critics. The former have disputed whether Loḳman was an inspired prophet or merely a philosopher and have decided against his inspiration: and they have given him a noble lineage, some saying that he was sister's son to Job, and others that he was nephew to Abraham, and lived until the time of Jonah. Others have said that he was an African slave. It will not escape the reader's notice that the term *sister's son* to Job, to which should be added *nephew of Abraham,* is the proper equivalent of the ἐξάδελφος by which Nadan and Aḥiḳar are described in the Tobit legends. Job, moreover, is singularly like Tobit. That he lived till the time of Jonah reminds one of the destruction of Nineveh as described in the book of Tobit, in accordance with Jonah's prophecy. Finally the African slave is singularly like Aesop (*ταὐτὸν γὰρ Αἴσωπος τῷ Αἰθίοπι* as Planudes says) who is a black man and a slave in the Aesop legends. From all of which it appears as if the Arabic Commentators were identifying Loḳman with Aḥiḳar on the one hand and with Aesop on the other;

i.e. with two characters whom we have already shown to be identical.

The identification with Aesop is confirmed by the fact that many of the fables ascribed to Aesop in the west are referred to Loḳman in the east: thus Sale says:—

> 'The Commentators mention several quick repartees of Luqmān which agree so well with what Maximus Planudes has written of Aesop, that from thence and from the fables attributed to Luqmān by the Orientals, the latter has been generally thought to be no other than the Aesop of the Greeks. However that may be (for I think the matter may bear a dispute) I am of opinion that Planudes borrowed a great part of his life of Aesop from the traditions he met with in the east concerning Luqmān, concluding them to have been the same person, &c.'

These remarks of Sale are confirmed by our observation that the Aesop story is largely a modification of the Aḥiḳar legend, taken with the suggestion which we derive from the Mohammedan commentators, who seem to connect Loḳman with Tobit on the one hand and with Aesop on the other.

Now let us turn to the Sura of the Koran which bears the name Loḳman, and examine it internally: we remark (i) that he bears the name of sage, precisely as Aḥiḳar does: (ii) that he is a teacher of ethics to his son, using Aḥiḳar's formula 'ya bani' in teaching him: (iii) although at first sight the matter quoted by Mohammed does not appear to be taken from Aḥiḳar, there are curious traces of dependence. We may especially compare the following from Aḥiḳar: 'O my son, bend thy head low and soften thy voice and be courteous and walk in the straight path and be not foolish. And raise not thy voice when thou laughest, for were it by a loud voice that a house was built, the ass would build many houses every day.'

Clearly Mohammed has been using Aḥiḳar, and apparently from memory, unless we like to assume that the passage in the Koran is the primitive form for Aḥiḳar, rather than the very forcible

figure in our published texts. Mohammed has also mixed up Aḥiḳar's teaching with his own, for some of the sentences which he attributes to Loḳman appear elsewhere in the Koran. But this does not disturb the argument. From all sides tradition advises us to equate Loḳman with Aesop and Aḥiḳar, and the Koran confirms the equation. The real difficulty is to determine the derivation of the names of Loḳman and Aesop from Aḥiḳar[1].

Some of the Moslem traditions referred to above may be found in Al Masudi c. 4:

> 'There was in the country of Ailah and Midian a sage named Loḳman, who was the son of Auka, the son of Mezid, the son of Sarûn: he was a Nubian, the freedman of Loḳain, the son of Jesr. He was born in the tenth year of king David: he was a virtuous slave to whom God granted the gift of wisdom: he lived, and did not cease to give to the world the example of wisdom and piety, until the days of Jonas the son of Mattai when he was sent to the people of Nineveh, in the district of Mosul.'

Other writers connected him with Balaam, and this form of the tradition as to his historical place passed into the west and is found in the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Petrus Alphonsus, amongst whose collections from the Arabic will be found the following sentence[2]:

> 'Balaam qui lingua Arabica vocatur Lucaman dixit filio suo: fili, ne sit formica sapientior te, etc.'

Of the five proverbs which are given in the *Disciplina* as from Loḳman, I do not think any are current in the Aḥiḳar legends.

The identification with Balaam proceeds, like that of Asaph, from a desire to find a place for an inspired prophet in Biblical Chronology; and it leads, perhaps, to the geographical location of the prophet in Midian: although this may be merely a misunderstanding for Media.

[1] The MS. Mus. Brit. Arab. 644 contains on ff. 189–193 a *Testamentum Luḳmani sapientis ad filium*. There does not seem to be any coincidence with Aḥiḳar.

[2] See Migne, *P. L.* 157.

Another curious point in connexion with the Moslem traditions is the discussion whether Loqman was or was not a prophet. This discussion cannot have been borrowed from a Greek source, for the idea which is involved in the debate is a Semitic idea. But it is a discussion which was almost certain to arise, whether Loḳman of whom Mohammed writes so approvingly had any special fame as a prophet, because Mohammed is the seal of the prophets.

And it seems from what Sale says on the subject, that the Moslem doctors decided the question in the negative; Loḳman 'received from God wisdom and eloquence in a high degree, which some pretend were given him in a vision, on his making choice of wisdom preferably to the gift of prophecy, either of which was offered him.' Thus the Moslem verdict was that Loḳman was a sage and not a prophet.

On the other hand it should be noticed that there are reasons for believing that he was regarded in some circles and probably from the earliest times as a prophet. The fact of his teaching in aphorisms is of no weight against this classification: for the Hebrew Bible has two striking instances of exactly similar character, in both of which the sage appears as prophet. Thus Prov. xxx. begins:

'The words of Agur the son of Jakeh, *even the prophecy*,'

and Prov. xxxi. begins:

'The words of king Lemuel, the *prophecy* that his mother taught him.'

Both of these collections appear to be taken from popular tales[1], and they are strikingly like to the sentences of Aḥiḳar. We need not be surprised then if Aḥiḳar's sayings were regarded as prophecy. Then we have direct Moslem evidence on the point; for in the Bibliographical Lexicon of Mustafa ibn Abdullah we find the following enumeration of special prophets[2]:

[1] It will be seen that we do not accept the interpretation which makes Agur and Lemuel inhabitants of a mythical *Massa*.

[2] iii. 478, tr. Fluegel.

'In libro Misbáh el-raml leguntur haec:
Haec vaticinandi ars in miraculis numeratur a sex prophetis peculiariter editis ab Adamo scilicet, Idriso, *Locmano*, Yeremya, Shaya, et Daniele.'

Of these six prophets, all except Loḳman are confessedly Biblical, for Idris stands for Enoch, and Shaya is clearly Isaiah. If then Loḳman does not owe his place in the list to his Biblical position, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that he and the others are taken out of some kind of Biblical Chronology or Chronicon.

This opinion is confirmed by Al Masudi's statement, that he was born in the 10th year of king David, which almost implies the use of a Chronicon. And when we turn to the Arabic History of Dynasties of Abu-el Faraj, which is based upon Eusebius' Chronicon in which the prophets and sages are arranged under their respective kings, we find Loḳman thrust into a place amongst the great philosophers of the world, who have their beginning *in the time of David*. Accordingly, Abu-el Faraj says[1]:

'Ejus tempore (sc. David) fuit Empedocles sapiens, unus e quinque columnis Philosophiae. Illum autumo, Pythagoram, Socratem, Platonem et Aristotelem....Ait alius, Primum qui philosophiae operam dedit, fuisse Pythagoram. Asserunt etiam Islamitarum nonnulli, Primum qui a sapientia denominatus sit, fuisse Locmannum, qui tempore Davidis claruit, et ab illo accepisse Empedoclem.'

Loḳman, then, has found his way into a Chronicon in which he was placed in the reign of David.

But according to Al Masudi, we may date him even more closely than this; for he is said to have been born in the tenth year of David. Why the tenth year? On turning to Eusebius' Chronicon, from which most of the Syriac Chroniclers derive, we find against the ninth year of David in the Armenian version, and

[1] Pococke, *Hist. Dynast.* p. 33.

against the eighth year of David in the Latin version, the statement:

Prophetabant Gad, Nathan et *Asaph.*

May we not fairly suspect that Loḳman, who is known to be equivalent to the Greek Aesop, has here been equated with Asaph? Fabricius[1], indeed, says that such an identification has already been proposed: 'non defuerunt qui Assaphum prophetam, Davidis itidem aequalem, propter nonnullam nominis convenientiam confunderent cum nostro Aesopo, absurde profecto.' No doubt the identification would be absurd, if we were looking for a real historical equivalence, but there is nothing absurd in the supposition that some one may have tried to find a place for Aesop the philosopher in a chronicle; and since the Planudes legends[2], as well as the Syriac fables, show him to have been identified with Josephus, there is quite a possibility for a further speculation which should give the fabulist a place in the reign of David: for Asaph and Joseph are not so far apart.

That Loḳman was black appears clearly in the Arabic tradition about him; thus Ibn Khallikan in his Biographical Dictionary tells us that Al-Kâdi ar-Rashîd was black in colour; and to this allusion is made by the poet and Kâtib Abû-l-Fath Mahmûd Ibn Kâdûs in these satirical verses:

> *O thou who resemblest Loḳman*, but not in wisdom;
> Thou who hast lost thy learning, not preserved it;
> Thou hast stolen every man's verses,
> And mayest be called *the black thief*;

where the point of the comparison turns on the assumed blackness of Loḳman.

The same thing is involved in the statement of Al Masudi that Loḳman was a *Nubian slave.*

[1] *Bibl. Gr.* ii. c. 9.

[2] Planudes has a tale of a trick which the Delphians played on Aesop by hiding a cup in his baggage, which must have arisen from some reminiscence of the story of Joseph in the book of Genesis. His Aesop is, therefore, a disguised Joseph. And our Cambridge MS. of Aḥiḳar contains also a collection of Aesop fables under the title of Josephus. . . .

How closely this is reproduced in Planudes may be seen from the following references:

p. 228. *μέλας—ὅθεν καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἔτυχε· ταὐτὸν γὰρ Αἴσωπος τῷ Αἰθίοπι.*

p. 238. *θαυμάζειν ὅπως τὸ μεμελανώμενον ἀνθρώπιον νουνεχέστερα πάντων ἔπραξε.*

p. 241. *ἤρετο· ποταπὸς εἶ; ὁ δέ· μέλας, φησί.*

Planudes' Aesop agrees, therefore, in this respect also with the Moslem traditions.

The legend of Aḥiḳar has also had an influence upon other books of a similar type, where story-telling and the enforcement of ethical maxims are combined. Such a case is the Story of Syntipas the Philosopher, a late Greek translation of a Syriac text, of which the date of composition is uncertain, as also whether it was primitively composed in Syriac or in some other language[1].

There was an Arabic form of this story extant as early as 956 A.D., and the diffusion of the collection of tales is phenomenal in later times.

The opening of the story is as follows:

'There was once a king whose name was Cyrus. He had seven wives; but had become old and had no son. Then he arose and prayed, and vowed a vow and anointed himself. And it pleased God to give him a son. The boy grew and shot up like a cedar [*ὡς δένδρον ἄριστον* in the Greek version, which appears to be a mere blunder for *κέδρος ἀρίστη*]. Then he gave him over to learn wisdom and he was three years with his teacher, without however learning anything.'

The opening of the story is common matter to an Eastern novelist, but there are allusions which betray the use of a model of composition. To put Aḥiḳar into the form Cyrus was not

[1] Cf. *Sindban oder die sieben Weisen Meister* ed. von Fr. Baethgen.

difficult in view of the Slavonic Akyrios for the same name; 'seven wives' is the modification of a later age on the original 'sixty wives' of Aḥiḳar; but what is conclusive for the use of the earlier legend is the remark that the king's son 'shot up like a cedar.' Thus we have in the Arabic version, 'Nadan grew big and walked, shooting up like a tall cedar,' and in the final reproaches of the sage, 'My boy! I brought thee up with the best upbringing and trained thee like a tall cedar.' So that Aḥiḳar is as truly a model for Syntipas as he was for Tobit.

At the conclusion of the Syntipas legends, when the young man is solving all the hard ethical problems that his father proposes to him, we again find a trace of Aḥiḳar, for he speaks of the 'insatiate eye which as long as it sees wealth is so ardent after it that he regards not God, until in death the earth covers his eyes.' And amongst the sayings of Aḥiḳar we find one to the effect that 'the eye of man is as a fountain, and it will never be satisfied with wealth until it is filled with dust.' Dr Dillon points out that this is one of the famous sayings of Mohammed, and if that be so, we have one more loan from Aḥiḳar in the Koran. Cf. Sura 102, 'The emulous desire of multiplying [riches and children] employeth you, until ye visit the graves.'

There is one of the later similitudes of Aḥiḳar which has found its way into early French poetry. Whether it is a part of the primitive collection of Aḥiḳar's sayings and doings may be left uncertain, but it can hardly be doubted that the story of the Wolf who went to school is responsible for the following extract from the *Poésies de Marie de France*[1]:

A, dit li Prestres; A, dist li Leux,
Qi mult es fel et engingneux.
B, dist li Prestres, di od mei;
B, dist li Leus, la lettre vei.
C, dit li Prestres, di avant;
C, dist li Lox, a-il dunc tant?
Li Prestres feit, o di par toi;
Li Loz respunt jeo ne sai qoi.

[1] Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie de France*. Vol. 2, No. 82.

Di ke t'en samble et si espel ;
Respunt li Lox, aignel, aignel.
Li Prestres dist, que verté tuche
Tel en penssé, tel en la buche.

It is somewhat strange, in view of the wide circulation of the book in Armenian, that there are not more traces of it found in the Armenian literature. Perhaps this is due to the lateness of the version. Mr Conybeare has made some enquiry on this point and reports as follows:

"The date of the Armenian version is hard to ascertain. The Venice MS. 482 is the oldest I know of, and may be ascribed to about the year 1500. The version itself, however, must be much older. For this MS. already shows a text that must have had a long history. It is the best exponent of a group of MSS. mostly written in the seventeenth century and descended from a common archetype. But this archetype already contained profound modifications of the text, from which the copy that is the ancestor of Bodl. Canon 131 was free. We must then assume a tolerably long history for the text previously to about 1500. On linguistic grounds I should refer the version to the twelfth or thirteenth century.

Perhaps reminiscences of the book are to be found in Armenian which would postulate an earlier date for the version, but I know of none. Lazar of Pharb, indeed, writing towards the close of the fifth century, appears to have an acquaintance with one proverb in the Wisdom of Khikar, but not necessarily with an Armenian version. He is writing from Amid in Mesopotamia, and, referring to the 'national heresy' of his compatriots, quotes the saying, 'Her that married a swine, befits a bath of sewer-water.' The allusion of course is to the preference of the Armenian Baptists for running water rather than for a font."

CHAPTER VIII

FURTHER REMARKS ON THE PRIMITIVE LANGUAGE AND EXTENT OF THE LEGEND OF AḤIḲAR

We will now add some considerations which throw further light upon the first form of the legend and upon the language in which it circulated.

It has already been suggested that the original document was probably coeval with Tobit, with which and with other books of the Old Testament (such as Daniel and Sirach) it has much consanguinity. So that there is a prejudication (as Paley would say) in favour of the hypothesis of a Hebrew original, for it is generally conceded that Tobit was originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic, and the actual Hebrew text of Sirach has recently come to light in an unexpected manner.

We can largely clear the ground for the discussion of this question by reducing the multiplicity of the versions, as by referring the Ethiopic texts to an Arabic base, and the Arabic to a Syriac origin, while the Slavonic texts are only a disguise for a Greek version. We should then have to discuss the mutual relations of Greek, Syriac and Armenian texts. In this case the Greek is, however, not the Greek of Planudes, but a hypothetical Greek which explains the existence of the Slavonic and is itself lost. Of the Armenian version Mr Conybeare reports that in the oldest forms of the legend which he has examined there is a good agreement of the Armenian with the Syriac and some signs of Greek influence. Apparently the last stage of the enquiry would be one of priority between an existing Syriac version and a hypothetical lost Greek text. We are still in the preliminary stages of such an enquiry, and must express ourselves

cautiously as to the final solution of the problem involved in the linguistic rivalry.

But we must at least say that there are signs of an immediate derivation of the existing Syriac from a lost Hebrew or Aramaic original. Amongst these signs there are a number of cases of the conjunction of the infinitive with the substantive verb. Such cases are

ܐܝܟ ܕܐܫܟܚ ܘܐܫܟܚ ܐܢ ܗܘܐ = as if he had really found them. p. ܠܒ

ܠܝ ܥܒܕ ܕܐܬܪܟܪ ܐܬܪܟܪ = he made no memorial of me at all. p. ܢܓ

ܐܡ ܠܐ ܫܡܥ ܫܡܥܬ = did I not certainly hear? p. ܟܚ

ܫܛܝܬ ܐܢܬ = thou art gone clean mad. pp. ܫܛ ܫܛ

Now it is difficult to believe that these pronounced Hebraisms have arisen in the Syriac, which is a translation from some lost original, except by the method of literal translation. [The affirmation of Hebraism is here too strong. The idiom is found in the best Syriac writers. Bardesanes, *De fato*, for example, would show many such cases.]

Another curious case of linguistic coincidence will be found in the use of היכל in the sense of 'palace.' This use occurs in the Old Test., e.g. in 1 Kings xxi. 1, 2 Kings xx. 18, &c., but it is especially noticeable in Daniel, whose relations with Aḥiḳar have already been pronounced suspicious, e.g. Dan. iv. 4, 'I Nebuchadnezzar was at rest in my house, and flourishing in my palace' (= בהיכלי); cf. Dan. vi. 18, &c. We find it frequently in the latter part of Aḥiḳar: e.g. 'let the doors of the *palace* be covered with red hangings,' 'I bored five holes in the eastern wall of the *palace*.' The word in the Syriac must be translated in this way, and not in the sense of 'temple.' The usage is exactly parallel to that in the book of Daniel.

A very strong confirmation of this theory of a lost Hebrew

original lies in the supposition that Aḥiḳar's teaching of his son was in the old-fashioned Hebrew style which is based upon the successive letters of the alphabet. If this supposition can be verified the demonstration will be complete. And there is something to be said for it. The author of the legends makes in his parables a lesson for a wolf: they bid the wolf say, according to the Armenian version, *ayp, ben, gim* (i.e. the first three letters of the Armenian alphabet), and the wolf said *Ayts, bouts, garhn* (i.e. goat, kid, lamb). Clearly the Armenian is preserving a trait from the original, in which the wolf, learning his alphabet, names animals which he has eaten, according to the method of a child's picture-blocks (only that the material of the illustration has to be gastronomic). The point of the parable is lost in the Arabic, which makes the wolf say for his A and B, 'lamb and goat in my belly': but the words in Arabic do not respond to the suggested alphabet. That feature has disappeared. In the old French the wolf, in despair at the length of the lesson, proceeds to say it his own way, 'Aignel, Aignel,' and here the first letter is preserved, though the translation appears to have broken down on the second letter of the alphabet. For he gives nothing more than lamb to his wolf. The Syriac rendering is as follows: 'the teacher said to him, "(Say) Aleph Beth"; but the wolf said "Kid, Sheep"': on which Dr Dillon appropriately suggests that 'the wolf pronounced the words beginning with the first two letters of the alphabet which best expressed the thoughts of his mind.'

Will this sort of jesting go back into Hebrew and is it in harmony with Hebrew thought, generally, to teach by means of alphabetically arranged words and sentences? The lamb and the kid may very well be אמרא 'lamb' and גדיא 'kid,' but what stood under the letter ב? Was it the Chaldee ברחא which in the Targums stands for a goat?

As to the general question of the propriety of alphabetic lessons, we have an exact parallel in the lessons given to king Lemuel by his mother, who praises the Good Woman from Aleph to Tau.

Another curious case of the kind occurs in a couple of little tracts on ethics attributed to Ben Sira which were published with a translation into Latin by Fagius[1]. Of these the shorter one deserves mention because there are some sentences in it which throw light on Aḥiḳar. It is a dialogue between Jesus Ben Sira and his teacher, in which Ben Sira (at an abnormally early age) is called on to say Aleph Beth, much in the same way as the boy Jesus is called on in the Apocryphal Gospels. He replies with pregnant sentences, forming an alphabet of ethics.

Thus Aleph begins with ...אל תתן (ne nimium sollicitus sis) and the sentences which follow are rich in advice against the desolating influence of ornate and guileful woman, much in the style of Aḥiḳar.

Cf. the following advice, 'absconde (העלם) oculos tuos a muliere formosa, ne forte te capiat rete ejus' with the parallel sentences in Aḥiḳar, and note how unsuitable they are to a five-year old child. The alphabet of Ben Sira appears to have used some earlier collection.

This appears also under the letter צ where the child replies 'absconde (צפון) *mi fili* divitias tuas in vita tua, atque heredibus tuis ne dederis usque ad diem mortis tuae.' Here we find a child of tender years addressing his Rab with the introductory formula that we find in Aḥiḳar! He must have been borrowing from some earlier collection of proverbs like that in our legend.

When we come to the letter ש we find the child repeating 'audi, mi domine (שמע אדוני), verba mea et auribus percipe sermones meos. Da operam ne in contentionem venias cum vicinis tuis. Et si animadverteris in sociis tuis rem malam, ne illam temere diffames.'

Here we remark not only that parallel advices can be found in Aḥiḳar, but the opening sentence in Aḥiḳar is most exactly reflected here, in the first clause of the child's reply. And it is to be remarked that the Armenian version has this sentence

[1] Sententiae Morales Ben Syrae...ex Hebraeo in Latinum per Paulum Fagium, Jenae, 1542.

not at the beginning of the sayings but, almost as in Ben Sira, at the end. But this is not all, the word אדוני comes from some previous document, for we found in our Syriac version when we were editing this actual introductory clause the words

ܒܪܝ ܘܚܟܝܡ ܐܚܝܩܪ [ܐܚܝ] ܐܚܝ ܕܢ

We omitted the bracketed word as a scribe's error, but we half suspect from its occurrence in the parallel sentence in Ben Sira that it should have been edited and that it belongs to the ancestry of the sayings.

Thus it becomes increasingly likely that the original legend of Aḥiḳar followed in its precepts the order of the Hebrew alphabet. Is there any way of testing this point?

We are probably not in a position to make a final and complete demonstration, but the following suggestion may be helpful. Let us take the proverbs of Aḥiḳar in the Armenian and Arabic forms and compare them. In the Armenian there are a hundred such proverbs, of which one is a doublet. The Arabic, as edited by us, divides into 67 proverbs. It need hardly be said that we have no expectation to carry back either the 99 proverbs or the 66 proverbs into the original nucleus, from which the separate versions have been evolved. How much, however, of these two collections is common matter? I think it will be found that 22 of the Armenian sayings correspond to 25 of the Arabic sayings. The nucleus of these two versions is suspiciously suggestive of a number of sayings arranged according to an alphabet of 22 letters.

Whether this suggestion can be verified by an actual reconstruction of the alphabetic sentences is too difficult a question at this early stage in the study of the book, but it should at least be kept in mind. It is certain that alphabetism is a favourite form of Jewish ethical teaching.

Another question which will have to be discussed from a comparison of the extant versions is the determination of accretions which have attached to the primitive draft of the legend.

We have already alluded to this in the matter of the proverbs, by ruling some of them not to belong to the first form. But the whole story needs to be treated in the same way.

Our first thought, for example, with regard to the incident of the flying boys, is that the matter does not belong to the first form. It seems to be characteristic of a later time than Tobit. It goes along with the rest of the silly questions and trifling answers that pass between Pharaoh and Aḥiḳar. Set the latter to build a castle in the air, and he sends up boys to ask from the backs of eagles for stones and lime, because they are ready to begin. Ask him to sew together the pieces of a broken millstone, and he begs for strips from a neighbouring stone to sew with, as he has left his tools and thread at home. It can hardly be called 'excellent fooling' and it has not as great an appearance of antiquity as seems required. But, as it occurs with some modification in the Aesop legends, as well as in the best versions, it cannot be discarded from the story.

Another suspicious piece is the story of the pillar on which is planted 12 cedars, each with 30 twigs, &c. The writer who inserted it almost admits that it is an ancient and venerable riddle, when he makes Aḥiḳar say that every ploughboy in Assyria knows it. And certainly it turns up in all sorts of corners of Eastern romance. For instance it occurs in a story to which we have already drawn attention, the one to which Burton gives the name of 'the Linguist Dame, the Duenna and the King's Son.' It is one of the puzzles set to the king's son by the over-educated young lady who is occupied with his ruin, and no doubt was a fashionable conundrum in the best Arabian society.

One would feel disposed to reject such a story from the legends of Aḥiḳar, if it were not that in the MSS. from which Lidzbarski edited his translation the question occurs in a very early form indeed. Here we have a pillar composed of 8736 stones, bound together by 365 bricks, on which are planted 12 cedars, each cedar having 30 twigs, and on each twig pairs of fruits, one of which is white and the other black. This is

interpreted, of course, to mean the year. Now clearly 8736 is meant to disguise 364 × 24, the number of hours in the year. That is, it is not a year of 363 days, but one of 364. The reference to the 365 bricks is an interpolation.

But where shall we find a solar year of 364 days? Such a reckoning cannot be modern. We can easily find a lunar year of 354 days, by taking months alternately 29 and 30 days in length. But this is not what the writer means.

A case of the kind will be found in certain chapters of the book of Enoch. Thus we have in c. 74, 'all the days which belong to one of those five full years amount to three hundred and sixty-four days': c. 75, 'the harmony of the course of the world is brought about through its separate 364 world stations': c. 82, 'the year is completed in 364 days.'

If then any MS. or version of Aḥiḳar describes the year as consisting of 364 days, this is a genuine early reckoning, belonging to the period of the book of Enoch, i.e. to pre-Christian times. For this reason, this part of the legend is not lightly to be discarded.

There remains much to be done in comparing the versions *inter se*, but enough has perhaps been said by way of introducing the new book to our readers. Under their criticism, and by the light of their investigation, we shall soon know much more with regard to the time and place of production, and the primitive contents of this charming little tale.

CHAPTER IX

ON THE RECENTLY RECOVERED ARAMAIC VERSION

We have already intimated, in the editorial paragraphs which distinguish this our second edition, that the occasion of this edition is a great literary surprise, the discovery of an Aramaic papyrus, of such extraordinary antiquity, as to rank it and its companion documents amongst the oldest known Biblical monuments. Who ever expected that the fifth century before Christ was going to be represented by a library of its own, consisting of documents from the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, and written in the very Aramaic dialect that was used by them? And who could have imagined that the documents in question would have come from the site of a Jewish colony on an island in the Nile, occupied at the time of which we are speaking by a stately temple that rivalled the sanctuary of Jerusalem itself, and exhibited a ritual of its own independent (as far as can at present be determined) of the so-called Deuteronomic legislation?

The circumstances of these great discoveries of Aramaic documents on the island of Elephantiné, just below the first cataract of the Nile, are by this time familiar to every one; and there is therefore no need to discuss them in detail. Our care is the story of Aḥiḳar, and it is sufficient to remark that among the finds of this exploration, there is a series of papyrus fragments which clearly belong to the Aḥiḳar literature.

They were published by Prof. Sachau in his *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militarkolonie zu Elephantiné*, pp. 147—182.

In the preface to the work in question, Prof. Sachau discusses the story of Aḥiḳar, to which eleven leaves of the recovered papyri belong: he points out that they cannot be younger than 410—400 B.C. since they are found in company with a number of similarly written and dated documents, which belong to the reign of Darius II (424—404 B.C.). It is fortunate that the documents are so securely dated: but the dating of the document leaves the dating of the composition of the Aḥiḳar-book an open question, except so far, that its antiquity must be greater than the end of the fifth century. Prof. Sachau observes that the names and titles of persons in the story appear to be Assyrian, but that the obscurity of form in which they come to us suggests that the great Assyrian Empire was no longer in existence, when the author composed his story! He is consequently led to refer the work to the last decades of the Neo-Babylonian kingdom, which followed the fall of Assyria in 603 B.C.: and finally suggests, as a working hypothesis, that Aḥiḳar was written between 550 and 450 B.C. This does not exclude the possibility that the name of the hero of the tale, which is old-Babylonian in form, may belong to a much earlier time: but as regards the date of the story, we may provisionally accept Sachau's dating. It is clear from these considerations that we are dealing with the oldest literary monument in the Aramaic language; and, although the book is found in the ruins of a Jewish colony, it was a colony who spoke Aramaic and not Hebrew, and who read the story before us in the Aramaic that they spoke, without a trace of Hebrew influence in the tradition, or any suggestion of Judaism in the origins of the book.

As might, perhaps, have been expected, the Aḥiḳar story of the fifth century before Christ is simpler in character than the later versions from which we have edited it. It is free from some expansions, which successive generations of Oriental story-tellers have made, and it has more of the appearance of possible historical verity. The story of Aḥiḳar's journey to Egypt, to answer the hard questions of the quarrel-seeking Pharaoh, is absent from the papyrus: we have no right to say positively that it never was

there, for its absence may only mean the non-recovery of the papyrus upon which it was written; but so far as it goes, the evidence is against the belief that the Egyptian incidents are primitive: we had, in fact, cast doubts upon them before the papyri came to light.

In the matter of the Proverbs and Parables of Aḥiḳar, the divergence between the papyrus and the later versions is so great that we can hardly be sure that we are dealing with the same collection: the document is so incomplete, and so hard to decipher, and the coincidences between its text and the later Aḥiḳar texts are so few, that we are almost disposed to believe we have stumbled upon another collection of Aḥiḳariana (if I may coin a word!). On the other hand, if the collection should be diverse, it is also similar; it is made up in the same way out of gnomic advices and allegorical animal-stories, and it may be only the paucity of our material that is hindering our recognition of the ancestral sayings and parabolizings which underlie our complete and later texts.

In the question of historicity, the newly-found document has something to say for itself. It does not, at all events, make the blunder of inverting the sequence of Assyrian kings, and making Esarḥaddon the father of Sennacherib. The earlier the document is, the less probable would such a blunder be; and it is natural to ask, in view of the relative correctness of the author's Assyrian history as compared with later story-tellers whether it may not be the case that Aḥiḳar may after all be a historical personage, whose tragic misfortunes and dramatic recovery may have furnished the material for later romances. There is no radical impossibility that a wise vizier may have lived in the times of the Assyrian kingdom, and have been betrayed by an unwise adopted son. Some things suggest that he was a teacher of ethics, as ethics were understood at that day, and that his 'wise saws and modern instances' (modern at that time) were inscribed upon pillars for subsequent national edification, in which case they may conceivably turn up in some of the many modern Assyrian excavations. Only we must be on our

guard against making Aḥiḳar historical, simply to gratify people who think that Tobit is canonical.

Prof. Sachau, with his usual courtesy, has been so kind as to allow me to make any use that I wish of his published Aḳiḳar: and it will perhaps be thought that a fresh edition of the text should be made in this volume. On the whole we have thought it best not to exactly transcribe and re-edit. The text is difficult to read, hard to restore and to correct. What is probably wanted in this edition is a general presentation of the scope of the papyrus, in which case those who wish for a more exact scientific discussion must consult the various editions that are appearing in Germany, among which the first place may be given to that of Ungnad and Stärk.

CHAPTER X

SOME RECENT EDITIONS OF THE STORY OF AḤIḳAR

A BRIEF reference description of the work which has been done upon the text and interpretation of Aḥiḳar since the publication of our first edition seems desirable.

It is not practicable to follow in detail the track of the reviewers, who have distributed their approbations or otherwise to our work; but there are several striking contributions to the subject which demand at least some notice, which have been called out either by our edition or by the news of the Assuan discoveries.

Our first reference is to an essay by Prof. Rudolf Smend, on 'the age and provenience of the story of Aḥiḳar and its relation to the Aesop legends[1].' The essay was bound up with another by Johannes Müller on the criticism of the book of Tobit. Smend was not satisfied that the references to Aḥiḳar in the book of Tobit were original; he treated them as interpolations, but as interpolations by a very early hand. The interpreter used a Jewish Aḥiḳar book, which was closely related to our Aḥiḳar story, and at least as early as the birth of Christ (!); perhaps somewhat earlier. If Smend was unfortunate, in assigning so late a date to Aḥiḳar, he was very successful in another direction, in analysing the relation between the proverbs and parables of Aḥiḳar, and the fables of Aesop; here he was able to show conclusively the dependence of the Western literature upon the Eastern. He also drew attention to an important point which I had insufficiently treated. On

[1] *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die A.T. Wissenschaft*, No. xiii (Giessen, 1908).

p. xliii of our first edition will be found an argument of mine to the following effect: Democritus, according to the Greek tradition, made use of certain ethical sayings inscribed on the pillar of Aḥiḳar (Akīkaros).

But amongst the fifteen Ethiopic sayings of Aḥiḳar, we find that the second is ascribed to *Democrates* in the Arabic writer Shahrastani (the saying that 'the tail of a dog gets him meat, but his voice gets him blows'). Evidently Democrates is a corruption for Democritus; and the statement that Democritus borrowed from Aḥiḳar is confirmed. Further, the thirteenth Aethiopic saying is, as far as its first half is concerned, ascribed to *Socrates* in the collections of Maximus. It was natural to suggest that Socrates was an error for Democrates, and that Maximus had used a Democritean collection, with elements in it ultimately derived from Aḥiḳar.

At this point Smend came to my reproof and to my aid, by pointing out that there were three successive loans from Aḥiḳar in the immediate neighbourhood of one another in the passage which I had quoted: they were as follows:

> Suffer no one to go so far as to tread on thy heel to-day, lest he tread on thy neck to-morrow.

This is the 39th of the Syriac proverbs.

Shahrastani continues: 'And be not so over-sweet lest thou be gulped down, nor so over-bitter as to be spit out.' This is No. 8 in the Armenian and Slavonic proverbs.

Then follows the proverb quoted above about the tail of the dog. So much for my careless reading of Shahrastani.

Now that we have the proof of the antiquity of the Aḥiḳar legend furnished by the Assuan papyri, the parallels with Democritus acquire fresh importance: it is quite unnecessary to indulge any further doubts as to the accuracy of the tradition, which makes Democritus dependent on the Chaldean Aḥiḳar. It is probable that Pseudo-Demokritus will have to be banished; whether we shall have occasionally to speak of a Pseudo-Aḥiḳar is another matter, for the Oriental legends have certainly had a long history,

and it was easy to expand them from external literature which was more or less like the original material.

Our next reference should be to Professor Paul Vetter's studies on Aḥiḳar and Tobit. These valuable papers appeared in the *Tübingen Quartalschrift* 1904 and 1905 as follows:

1904 { pp. 321—364.
pp. 512—539.

1905 { pp. 321—370.
pp. 497—546.

They contain a very thorough investigation of the origin of the Aḥiḳar-story and of its relations to Tobit. The Armenian text is translated, and a valuable table of concordances is made for the Proverbs and Parables in the separate Versions. We have made use of this table in the article on Aḥiḳar which we have contributed to Prof. Charles' *Corpus* of Apocryphal writers, now being published by the Oxford University Press. Unfortunately Vetter fell into the same mistake as Smend in underestimating the age of the Aḥiḳar story which he thought was composed somewhere between 100 B.C. and 200 A.D.! He was also rather too ready to treat the existing book as due to a Jewish author, writing in Hebrew, though he rectified the mistake by suggesting the existence of an earlier Aḥiḳar-book, of pagan, i.e. Babylonian origin, and written in Aramaic. He was also occasionally in error through undue hesitation, as when he would not correct Strabo's allusion to the fame of Aḥiḳar among *the people of the Bosporus to the people of Borsippa*. He objected to the parallel drawn between the death of Judas and the death of Nadan, as though the latter might have been dependent on the former; in which case the Judas legends are left without their proper folk-lore explanation, and the Gospels and the Acts unharmonised. Apparently Vetter really believes that Judas both hanged himself and burst asunder! The whole matter suggests another solution, now that the antiquity of the Aḥiḳar-story has been placed beyond dispute. We have no right to exclude folk-lore explanations from the N.T., when they furnish us with

the exact key to our perplexities, in discussing miraculous situations or conflicting documents.

We shall find many valuable hints and references in these essays of Vetter's.

We now pass on to note briefly the very valuable edition of Aḥiḳar which was brought out by the Abbé Nau in the year 1909, under the title, *Histoire et Sagesse d'Aḥiḳar l'Assyrien.* It professes to contain a translation of the Syriac versions, with the principal variations contained in the Arabic, Armenian, Greek, Neo-Syriac, Slav and Roumanian. To these translations a very thorough Introduction is prefixed, in which the whole of the published literature is subject to review and investigation. No actual texts are published, but the translations from the Syriac are made with the care that characterises all the Abbé Nau's work. The main point in which he differs from ourselves lies in his over-estimation of a MS. of Aḥiḳar in the Sachau collection (Cod. Sach. 336), written as late as 1883 in the Tûrabdîn, and probably not from a Syriac original at all, but as a translation from some other version. It happens that this supposed superior version does not have the mistake, which commonly characterises the versions of Aḥiḳar, with regard to the order of the Assyrian kings. It does not invert Sennacherib and Esarḥaddon. In this respect it stands in line with history, just as the Assuan fragments do; the natural inference is that some one has corrected the traditional blunder. Apart from this excellent trait, which need not even be ancient, I see no reason whatever for laying stress upon a copy and a version not twenty years old; nor do I think that M. Nau succeeds in justifying his erratic preference. It is quite an insufficient argument to affirm that the Sachau MS., made, perhaps, from an Arabic translation the day before yesterday, brings back from the dead another Syriac version from which the missing Arabic is derived! In other respects the edition of M. Nau is of very high value, full of excellent references, and often very sound in its critical judgments. He admits that Democritus has borrowed from the original Aḥiḳar-story, and concludes that it

must have been composed in Assyria before the fifth century B.C.; and that consequently M. Renan was right in saying that it was originally written in Aramaic. Apparently M. Nau had reached these conclusions before making acquaintance with the Assyrian papyri, which are described in an appendix to the volume.

This volume of Nau's and the essays by Smend and Vetter are the chief contributions in recent years to the criticism of Aḥiḳar. There are, however, one or two other attempts at elucidation, more or less important, and more or less successful. The problem is approached on the side of folk-lore, in order to show that the story of Aḥiḳar contains elements which can be exactly paralleled in Indian and other popular literature. The result of such a theory, if established, would be to finally rid the Aḥiḳar legend of any historical meaning: and it is certain that one can go a long way toward the proof of the suggested hypothesis: but just at this point the Assuan papyri, by their relative simplicity, appear to suggest that there may after all be a historical nucleus.

Suppose, however, that Aḥiḳar should be at once ancient and unhistorical; then, since the book of Tobit, which is canonical, quotes Aḥiḳar as historical, the critics of the Catholic school begin immediately to sound the war-drum. 'The maxim,' they say, '*Quieta non movere* can no more be appealed to by the prudent[1].'

One would have thought it wiser not to have beat the drum so vigorously. However, the subject is now to be treated polemically, as well as critically. The elect champion of the Faith appears to be M. Cosquin, a folk-lorist of eminence, who devotes two essays to the subject; the first of these (*Revue Biblique*, 1899, pp. 53—82) is entitled *La Livre de Tobie et l'Histoire du sage Aḥiḳar*, and the second (l.c. 1899, pp. 510—531) is entitled *Encore l'Histoire du sage Aḥiḳar*. These two reviews are well worth reading, and show, at certain points, the strength of the folk-lore method.

The conclusion of the first essay is that Aḥiḳar is unhistorical, every bit of him; and he is clearly anterior to Tobit. But this makes no difference to the pious Tridentine; for Tobit may after

[1] Editorial note in *Revue Biblique*, 1899, p. 50.

all be an allegory, like the good Samaritan. Can one propose to take the Good Samaritan out of the Bible, because, perhaps, he never existed? It will be seen that the writer of the essay combines modern methods of investigation with foregone conclusions, in a manner that is not altogether to the credit of theological science.

As to the second essay, that is directed in part against myself, and my theory of a connection between Aḥiḳar and the Acts of the Apostles in the matter of the death of Judas. It has a real value apart from the dispute over Judas: for M. Cosquin applies his folk-lore knowledge to the story of Tobit in order to prove that the tale is one of a cycle, which express the incidents attaching to a Grateful Ghost, who wishes to make return for kindness done to his corse. This 'Mort Recompaissant' supplies all the leading features of the Tobit story, so that the book has now become a fairy tale used as a vehicle of moral ideas. I am quite satisfied with the argument and with the conclusion.

As to the question of Judas' death, and the reconciliation of Matthew and Luke, M. Cosquin tells us that they cause him no difficulty. A folk-lorist, we admit, ought to find no difficulty in the fact that a story is told two different ways!

Other interesting discussions will be found, by M. Théodore Reinach in *Revue des Études Juives* for 1899 pp. 1—13, entitled Un conte Babylonien dans la littérature Juive; by M. Halévy, under title Tobie et Akhiakar (Paris 1900), and by F. Marc, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* for 1910, pp. 383—421, under the title, Die Ueberlieferung des Äsopromans: I am sorry that space does not allow me to analyze or summarize these writings.

THE SLAVONIC VERSION

Translated from the German of Professor V. Jagić.

Sinagrip was King of Assyria and of the land of Nineveh. At that time I, Akyrios, was his minister (a learned scribe). And it was revealed to me by God: "No child shall be born to thee." I owned more wealth than all men; and I had married a wife; my household was well-ordered, and I lived for sixty years without a child. Then I erected altars, and kindled fires and said: "O Lord my God! if I should die without an heir, what will men say? 'Akyrios was a just man, he served God truly. When he dies, there will be no male offspring to stand at his grave, and no female offspring to shed tears for him, and he will have no heir.' Therefore I beseech thee, O Lord my God! give me a male offspring, that he may strew dust on my eyes after my decease." And the Lord hearkened unto my voice. A sound came down from Heaven: "O Akyrios! I will fulfil all thy requests, but thou must not ask for a child. Behold, thou hast a nephew (a sister's son) Anadan, take him instead of a son." When I perceived the voice of the Lord, I said: "O Lord my God!"

I took my nephew Anadan instead of a son. He was still very young. I had him brought up at the breast, and fed him with honey and wine, and I clothed him in silk and purple. After he had grown up, I instructed him in every kind of wisdom and learning. Then the King said to me: "O Akyrios! my

counsellor, when thou shalt die in a good old age, where shall I find another such counsellor?" And I replied: "I have a son, whom I have instructed in every kind of wisdom and learning." The King said: "Bring me thy son, that I may see if I like him: then I will dismiss thee, that thou mayest spend thine old age at home."

I took my son Anadan and brought him to the King. When the King perceived me, he said: "Blessed be this day, O Akyrios, which has brought thee to me in good health." I bowed before the King and said: "Thou thyself knowest how truly I have served thee. Be patient a little longer, till thy favour be shewn to my old age and to the youth of Anadan." When the King heard that, he said: "Because of thy former deserts none other (save Anadan) shall take thy place."

I, Akyrios, kept the son with me, and after I had fed him with good lessons, as with bread and water, I said to him:

1. My son, hearken to my words; receive all instruction with pleasure and be obedient all the days of thy life.

2. If thou hearest aught in the King's presence or if thou seest aught in his house, let it remain shut up (rot) in thy heart and share it with no one. But if thou share it, it may fall on thee as burning coals; thou wilt get blame to thyself and rue it afterwards.

3. My son, relate to no one what thou hearest, and reveal to no one what thou seest. Untie not a bound cord, and tie not a loosened one.

4. And let this be said to thee, my son: Look not on the beauty of a woman. Even if thou sacrifice all thy wealth to her, thou wilt at the last reap reproach and fall into sin.

5. My son, be not hard, like the bones of men, nor soft as a sponge.

6. My son, let thine eyes look on the ground and thy voice be soft. If it were a loud voice alone that decided the event, the ass could build two houses in a day with his braying.

7. My son, it is better to roll stones with a wise man, than

to drink wine with a fool. Carry on no nonsense with a sensible man, and reveal not thy wit to a senseless one.

8. My son, be not over sweet, lest they eat thee up, nor over bitter, lest thy friends run away from thee.

9. My son, if thou hast a wound on thy foot, step not forth firmly.

10. My son, the rich man's son swallowed the serpent. Some said: "From hunger"; others said: "As medicine[1]."

11. My son, when a man distinguishes himself, worry him not; if a mishap occur to him, rejoice not over it.

12. My son, keep what is thine own; seek not what belongs to others (or thus: give of what is thine own, but borrow not from others).

13. My son, venture not on the road with a man who will not accept advice, and sit not down at the same table with a deceiver.

14. My son, when a man more highly placed than thyself falls, exult not above measure; betray not thyself in thy speech before others who might communicate it to him, for he might rise higher again and be revenged on thee.

15. My son, approach not a shameless woman, and glance not at her beauty.

16. My son, if a friend should have a grudge at thee, or blame thee, make him welcome to thy bread and wine.

17. My son, the man who despises the law goes towards his fall, but the just man will rise higher.

18. My son, withdraw not thy son from chastisement: when a son is chastised, the water is being poured over the vineyard (the vine?).

19. My son, hold thy son with a bridle from his childhood; if thou hold him not tight, he will make thee old before thy time.

20. My son, keep not a chattering slave nor a pilfering one in the house, lest he eat up thy wealth.

[1] According to another version: The poor man's son swallowed the serpent, and people said: "From hunger." The rich man's son swallowed the serpent, and people said: "As medicine."

21. My son, hearken not to him who censureth his friend; he will expose thy failings likewise to others.

22. My son, if some one meet thee and address thee, answer him with reserve; an inconsiderate word spoken in haste is repented of afterwards.

23. My son, a liar findeth sympathy at first, but at the last he is despised and abused. The speech of a liar resembles the twittering of birds, only the senseless hearken to it.

24. My son, honour thy father, for he bequeaths thee all his wealth.

25. My son, draw not on thyself the curse of thy father and thy mother, or thou wilt not live to have any joy in thine own children.

26. My son, if fierce anger seize thee, say not a word, lest thou be called senseless.

27. My son, go not unarmed by night, for thou knowest not whom thou shalt meet.

28. My son, he who is of low origin is despised by all.

29. My son, say not: "My master is stupid, I am sensible."

30. My son, take in good part the admonition of thy master, and thou wilt be in favour; trust not to thine own wisdom; however much thou mayest have to bear, bear it without uttering evil.

31. My son, be not talkative, or thou wilt be in fault before thy master.

32. My son, if thou art sent with a message, linger not, lest another be sent a little while after thee. Let not thy master say: "Get out of my way," and thou be sad, but: "Come hither to me," and be glad.

33. My son, neglect not to go to church on a holiday.

34. My son, seek out the houses of the deceased; visit them, and be mindful that thou too must die.

35. My son, if thou hast no horse of thine own, ride not on a strange one; if it becomes lame, thou wilt be laughed at.

36. My son, if thou hast no bodily hunger, eat not bread, lest thou appear greedy.

37. My son, take up no quarrel with a man stronger than thyself; thou canst not know how he will pounce on thee.

38. My son, if thy house be too high, make the walls lower, and then walk in.

39. My son, if thou receive with good measure, sell not with scanty measure; say not: "Therein is the gain." That is bad. God, who knoweth and seeth all, will be angry with thee, and destroy thy house.

40. My son, swear not in God's name, lest the number of thy days be made fewer.

41. My son, go to the mourner and comfort him with (thy) words; it is worth more than gold and silver.

42. My son, keep thy tongue from evil report and thy hands from theft.

43. My son, flee from unchastity.

44. My son, if thou hearken unto a wise man, it is as if thou wert thirsty on a hot day, and didst refresh thyself with cold water.

45. My son, if temptations and afflictions from God befal thee, be not vexed. It leads to nothing, thou wilt not overcome thereby, but He will hear thy bad temper and respond to it in [deed and] truth.

46. My son, judge uprightly and thou wilt be honoured in thine old age.

47. My son, keep a sweet tongue and open thy mouth to speak what is good.

48. My son, be not fain to trample on thy neighbour, lest the like happen to thyself.

49. My son, say a word to the wise, and he will take it to heart; (but) though thou beat a fool with a staff, thou wilt not bring him to reason.

50. My son, thou mayest send a clever man without instructing him much: but if thou send a senseless man, thou must follow him thyself, lest he bring thee to shame.

51. My son, prove thy friend first with bread and wine, then may he be admitted to something better.

52. My son, if one bid thee to a feast, appear not at the first summons; if he call thee the second time[1], thou wilt see that he esteems thee highly, and thou wilt enter his presence with honour.

53. My son, take no reward (for a right judgment), for a reward dazzles the eyes of the judge.

54. My son, I have tasted gall and bitterness, and it was not more bitter than poverty; salt and lead seem to be lighter.

55. My son, I have lifted iron and stone, and it seemed to me easier than when a man learned in the law carries on a suit against his nearest kin.

56. My son, love thy wife with all thy heart, for she is the mother of thy children.

57. My son, if there be no occasion for such a thing in thy house, set not up a commotion in it, lest thou be exposed in thy neighbours' eyes.

58. My son, it is better to listen to a wise man when he is drunk than to a noodle when he is sober.

59. My son, it is better to be blind of the eyes than in the heart; a man blind of the eyes grows apt at tapping about and finds his path at last; a man blind of heart will constantly decline from the right road and lose himself.

60. My son, it is better for a woman to lose her own son by death, than to nourish a strange one; for whatever good she does to him, he rewards her for it with evil.

61. My son, a loyal slave is better than a disloyal free man.

62. My son, a friend who dwells near thee is better than a brother far off.

63. My son, a good name is more honourable to men than personal beauty; fame lasts for ever; the beauty of the face fades at death.

64. My son, a good death is better for a man than a bad life.

65. My son, a sheep's foot in thine own hand is better than the whole shoulder in the hand of a stranger; better is a lambkin near thee than an ox far away; better is a sparrow held tight in

[1] Cf. Luke xiv. 17.

the hand than a thousand birds flying about in the air; better is a hempen robe, that thou hast, than a robe of purple, that thou hast not.

66. My son, when thou hast bidden a friend to a feast, welcome him with a cheerful countenance, that he too may return to his home in a cheerful mood. When thou givest a dinner, appear not before thy friend with a gloomy face, lest thy banquet become a disgrace to thee, whilst thou art considered to be no good man.

67. My son, commend not the one man nor condemn the other, until thou hast proved the matter; let thy judgment be given only after ripe deliberation.

68. My son, it is better to lie in fever heat than to live with a wicked wife. Hold no consultations in thy house (i.e. in presence of the wicked wife) and share not with her the concerns of thy heart.

69. My son, if thou drink wine, speak little.

70. My son, mock neither at a stupid man nor at a deaf one, for they are both God's creatures.

71. My son, seek not to belittle a great saying of thy master, nor to magnify a trifling one.

72. My son, if thou desirest to say something to somebody, speak not immoderately, but weigh it well in thy heart and then say what is needful; for it is better to stumble with the foot than with the tongue.

73. My son, if thou chance to be amongst menials, smile not as thou approachest them; for a smile gives rise easily to a misunderstanding, and from a misunderstanding there springs a quarrel, and from a quarrel come mutual recriminations and scuffles, and scuffles may result in death, and death is the fulfilment of sin.

74. My son, a lying word is at first heavy as lead and at the last it floats on the water.

75. My son, if thou wouldest fain put thy friend to the test, share a secret with him; then in a few days pick a quarrel. If he betray not thy secret, love him with all thy heart, for he is a trustworthy friend; but if he prattle about thy secret, turn thy back on him.

76. My son, it is better for thee to be robbed than to rob thyself.

77. My son, if thou say a good word for thy friend before the judge, thou hast snatched a lamb out of the jaws of the lion.

78. My son, if thou art going on a journey, count not on the bread of strangers; but carry thine own loaf with thee, for if thou hast it not, and art yet a wayfarer, thou wilt incur reproach.

79. My son, if a man who has hated thee die, rejoice not; it had been better for him to live, and for God to have humbled him, so that he might have come to thee with a prayer for forgiveness, and thou wouldst have granted it, and God would have shown thee favour for its sake.

80. My son, when thou seest an aged man, stand up in his presence; if he return not thy greeting, thou wilt receive thy thanks from God for it.

81. My son, if thou hast bidden any one to a feast, worry him not about other matters, lest thou be considered deceitful.

82. My son, when water runs up-hill, or a bird begins to fly backwards, when a Negro or a Saracen becomes white and gall is sweet as fresh honey, then will the stupid man learn sense.

83. My son, if thou art bidden to (the house of) a neighbour, spy not out the nooks in his chamber, it is not becoming.

84. My son, if God has made a man rich, envy him not, but shew him respect.

85. My son, if thou enter a house of mourning, talk not of meats and drinks; and if thou enter a house of gladness, make no mention of grief.

86. My son, the eyes of a man, like a gushing fountain, are insatiable and would devour oxen; but when the man dies, they are filled up with dust.

87. My son, if thou array thyself in a new garment, behave thyself decently, and envy not another who owns something else; he whose clothing is gaudy, his speech should be worthy of respect.

88. My son, whether thou be wealthy or not, persist not in sorrow; what profit can sorrow bring thee?

89. My son, if thou hast wealth, do not allow thyself to be tormented by hunger or thirst. If thou diest, another will enjoy thy wealth, and thou shalt have toiled in vain.

90. My son, if a poor man should steal something, make allowance for him.

91. My son, if thou go to a wedding, tarry not too long, lest they shew thee to the door before it be over.

92. My son, if a dog leave its master in the lurch, and follow another, the latter will look round, take up a stone, and fling it at him; and just the same (will happen to him) who leaves thee to run after another.

93. My son, if thy neighbour shew himself hostile to thee, cease not to meet him in a loving way, lest he carry out a design against thee when thou art not aware of it.

94. My son, when a man who hath a grudge at thee is fain to do thee a good turn, trust him not too readily, lest he outwit thee and vent his wrath on thee.

95. My son, if any one is punished for a fault, say not that he is punished without reason, lest thou incur the same penalty.

96. My son, it were better to be thrashed by a wise man, than to be anointed by a foolish one; for even if a wise man cudgel thee, he will meditate as to how he may comfort thee, while the fool will demand gold from thee for one anointing.

97. [1][Let thy first axiom be the fear of God. Then be quick to obey and circumspect in answering. Be patient in anger.

98. My son Anadan, if thy master say to thee: "Come near," rejoice not thereat; and also if he say: "Get away from me," be not dejected with grief because of it.

99. My son Anadan, be not a drunkard; better is a lunatic than a man who is a slave to drink; for the one raves only when it is the new moon, but the other rages continually.

100. My son Anadan, if thou sittest as a guest at a friend's

[1] The sayings which are enclosed in square brackets appear only in two MSS. of South Slavonic derivation, and of the fifteenth century.

table, brood not over something evil about him, lest the bread in thy mouth taste bitter.

101. My son Anadan, when people are seating themselves at the table, press not forward, lest thou be pushed out; and stay not behind, lest thou be forgotten.

102. My son Anadan, if a sorrow befall thee, call in a wise man to comfort thee: a confused mind cannot utter a single clear word.

103. My son Anadan, it is easier to ride over a broad field on a horse without a saddle, than to ask advice from a senseless man.

104. My son Anadan, if thou seek to cherish thy perishing body and neglect thy soul, thou wilt be like the man who leaves a noble wife in the lurch to cherish a slave girl.

105. My son Anadan, if thou strive after earthly things, and neglect heavenly things, thou wilt be like the man who has painted a husbandman on the wall, instead of getting him to till the land and sow the corn.

106. My son Anadan, if we were to live a hundred years and more, it would just be like one day.

107. My son Anadan, however much it may grieve us to see a good man hanging dead from his horse, it vexes us quite as much to see a bad spirit in a fine body.

108. My son Anadan, a just judge may be likened to a good sieve; as a good sieve separates the chaff from the grain, so a just judge separates the wrong from the right.

109. My son Anadan, if thou wouldst have a large retinue, keep a sweet tongue and liberal hands.

110. My son Anadan, it is better to dwell in a hut as a just man, than in a palace as a guilty one.

111. My son Anadan, neglect not to nourish thy mind with books, for it is said: "As a fence cannot stand against the wind without support, so a man cannot cultivate wisdom in his old age without books."

112. My son Anadan, this is the way of the world: if a poor man speak prudently, he is not listened to; he is called a fool

and talks nonsense. But if a man is rich, he is listened to, even if he talk rubbish. "Be quiet," they say, "for a prince is speaking." They treat him as a sage for the sake of his riches.

113. My son Anadan, trust not a wicked woman. Honey drops from her mouth, but afterwards it is bitter and poisonous gall. Remember, my son, the wife of Samson, who robbed her husband of his hair and his eyes, and delivered him over to his enemies; he dragged down the palace on himself by reason of pain and hurled both friend and foe to destruction.

114. My son Anadan, it is better to be too cautious than to be rash.

115. My son Anadan, if a corpse lie uncovered on thy path, cover it not; if it is covered up, expose it not.

116. My son Anadan, my soul can suit itself to everything. There are only three things that it cannot bear: (1) A faithless man. He who is faithless, is disloyal to God, to his parents, to his master, to his friend and to his wife. (2) A poor, but proud man. Of what is he proud? What does he count on? (3) A man who shews his master no respect. If a tom-cat be thy master, thou hadst better stroke his beard; for he who holds the head by the crown, can turn it as he listeth.

117. My son Anadan, what has been unjustly got, will go lightly.

118. My son Anadan, as water dries quickly off the earth, so let not a backbiter remain near thee.

119. My son Anadan, keep thy hands from stealing, thy mouth from lying and thy body from lewdness; above all beware of a married woman.

120. My son Anadan, if thou beg for anything from God, neglect not to comfort the sorrowing, to clothe the naked, to feed the hungry, to give drink to the thirsty, to cheer the unhappy with good and sweet words. A good word is worth more than silver or precious gold.

121. My son Anadan, seek not to have the goods of another; in a few days thine own wealth will pass into other hands.

122. My son Anadan, it is better for a man to eat green

saltless herbs in peace, with joy and happiness, amidst cheerfulness and laughter, than many tit-bits with repugnance and wrangling, sorrow and care.

123. My son Anadan, put not from thee thy first (old) friend, lest the new one leave thee in the lurch.]

124. My son, receive with all thy heart what I have taught thee, and repay me with interest from thine own stock and from mine.

And when I had instructed my nephew Anadan about everything, I said to myself: "My son Anadan will lay my teaching to heart, and I will present him to the King in place of myself." I never dreamt that Anadan would give no heed to my words. I was burning with zeal to instruct him, and he was plotting my downfall and forming plans against me.

I led him to King Sinagrip, that he might do him service, and the King said: "O Akyrios, blessed be thou for bringing me thy son to-day. If I am pleased with him, thou shalt be honoured in thine old age." I went home and never once dreamt that my son had dug a pit under me.

To wit: Anadan wrote two letters, one to King Nalon: "I, Akyrios, send greeting to Nalon, King of Persia. On the day when thou receivest this letter, be ready with thy whole army. I will deliver over to thee the land of Assyria, and thou shalt get it into thy power without fighting." He wrote another letter to Pharaoh, King of Egypt, in which he said: "When this letter comes into thy hands, be ready on the plain of Egypt, on the 25th of August. I will deliver up to thee the land of Nineveh with all its cities, and thou shalt possess it without the smallest sacrifice."

Just at that time the King (Sinagrip) had dismissed his warriors, and was abiding alone; but Anadan had traced both the letters in my handwriting, and had sealed them with my seal, and he waited for the time to put them into the King's hands. Then he wrote a letter containing the following: "From King Sinagrip to my counsellor Akyrios. My counsellor, on the day when thou shalt receive this letter, assemble all my warriors, and

hold thyself in readiness on the plain of Egypt, on August 25th. The moment I come, place the soldiers in battle array and ready for fighting, so that the ambassadors of Pharaoh may see my warlike might."

This letter was given by my son Anadan to two young slaves, and sent to me, ostensibly as if from the King.

Then Anadan appeared before the King and shewed him those two letters which he had himself written, and spake thus: "These are writings[1] of Akyrios, my father. I would not follow his advice, but brought the documents[1] to thee; for I was eating thy bread, and it is not fitting for me to have an evil design against thee. Hearken unto me, O King! thou hast distinguished my father Akyrios before all thy other chiefs; and see now what he has written against thee and against thy realm." And as he thus spake, he handed the writings[1] to the King. The King was quite upset and said: "O Lord my God, what evil have I done to Akyrios? why does he cherish so much evil in his heart against me and against my kingdom?" Then said Anadan: "O my King! perhaps he has been calumniated; therefore thou shouldst betake thyself in the month of August to the Egyptian plain and see if it be true." The King gave heed to Anadan and came to the Egyptian plain, my son Anadan being with him, and he saw that I, Akyrios, according to the above mentioned writing, had placed the soldiers ready for battle without ever dreaming that my son Anadan had dug a pit under me. When the King saw me all prepared for fighting, he was seized with a great terror, for he saw that what Anadan had said was quite true. And Anadan said to the King: "Just see! my father Akyrios has done this! But do thou go away and return home. I will go to my father Akyrios, frustrate his evil designs, persuade him and bring him to thee. Then thou wilt pass sentence on him according to his deeds."

The King returned home, but Anadan came to me, saluted me, and said: "My greetings to Akyrios my father. The King sends

[1] In the Slavonic text the singular is here used, although two letters have been spoken of above.

thee word: 'Thou hast won my favour this day, since thou hast arrayed my generals before me according to my commands and hast distinguished thyself before the ambassadors of Pharaoh. But now come to me thyself.'" And in obedience to these words I left the army and went with my son to the King. When the King saw me, he said: "Art thou come to me, Akyrios, my counsellor and minister? I have heaped fame and honours upon thee, yet thou hast taken up arms against me." And while the King thus spake, he handed me the letters, and I saw that they were like my writing and were sealed with my seal. As I unfolded them and read, my joints were loosened, and my tongue was tied; I sought for a wise inspiration and could find none, and I was in a great fright.

My son Anadan, whom I had introduced to the King, then attacked me suddenly, saying: "O thou senseless old man, why dost thou not reply to the King? Where is thy strength? where is thy wit?" And he said to the King: "Pass sentence on him, O King!" But the King said: "It is for thee, O Anadan, to pass sentence on him according to justice and to his deeds." Then said Anadan: "Akyrios, my natural father, thy fate has now overtaken thee, according to thy deeds." And my son Anadan spake thus to me: "It is the King's command that thy hands should be bound, and thy feet laid in fetters; then thy head shall be struck off, and carried a hundred ells away from thy body." When I heard the answer of the King, I fell down before him, prostrated myself and said: "O my ruler! mayest thou live for ever! why wilt thou put me to death? Thou hast heard no answer from my mouth, yet God knows that in nothing have I sinned against thy royal power. Now shall thy sentence be accomplished; but if it be thy will, command that I be put to death in my own house, so that my corpse may be buried." The King gave this command and I was delivered over to a man with whom I had a friendship of long standing, and he led me away to be put to death. I sent messengers to my house in advance and told my wife: "Come forth to meet me and bring with thee maidens and

the whole retinue; let them be all dressed in robes of velvet, that they may weep for me, for I am about to suffer death according to the King's decree. But first prepare a feast, that when I enter my house with the men of my escort, I may partake of bread and wine and then meet my death." My wife did everything, just as I had commanded her. She came forth to meet me, led me into the house, and when the table was set before us, the people began to eat and drink, and they all got drunk and went to sleep one after the other.

Then I, Akyrios, heaved a sigh from the bottom of my heart, and said to my friend who was about to lead me to execution: "My trusty friend, look up to heaven, shew in this hour that thou fearest God, and remember the friendship in which we lived together for a long time. Remember too, how the King once delivered thee into my hands to be put to death for a supposed crime; but I saved thee and protected thee as an innocent man, till the guilty one was discovered by the King. Therefore put me not now to death, when I find myself in the same plight, but be gracious to me and preserve me as I once did thee. But thou shalt in no wise be afraid of the King. For there is a man lying in the prison of the same age as myself, like me in face and well deserving of death. Take off my clothes and put them on him, lead him out, strike off his head and put it a hundred ells away from the body, as the King hath commanded."

When my friend heard these words, he was inconsolable, and said: "Terrible is my dread of the King, how can I turn a deaf ear to his commands? Yet from love to thee I will do as thou hast said; for it is written: 'Thou shalt give up thy head for thy friend.' I will keep thee and preserve thee. If the King detect us, I will perish along with thee." And having thus spoken, he stripped off my clothes and put them on the prisoner, then he led him out and said to the escort: "Behold the execution of Akyrios." And as the people came near to me, he struck off the man's head and carried it a hundred yards away from the body. They did not know that another person's head had been struck off, and a report

was spread through the whole land of Assyria and Nineveh, that the minister Akyrios had been killed. Then my friend and my wife prepared a dwelling for me underground, four ells broad and four ells deep; thither they brought me bread and water: and my friend went forth to inform King Sinagrip that Akyrios was beheaded, and all the people who heard it wept.

Then said the King to Anadan: "Go home and weep for thy father." But when Anadan went home he had no thought of mourning, nor did he brood over his father's death; but he gathered together even jugglers in my house and began to hold great feasts and to buffet those of my slaves who had shewn their good-will to me; and demanded that my consort should serve him. But I, Akyrios, who was pining in prison, heard all that my son did, and sighed bitterly with my whole heart, but could do nothing to prevent it. My friend returned and paid me a visit, and stepping down to me tried to console me. I said to my friend: "Pray to God for me, and say 'O Lord thou just God! have mercy upon Thy servant in prison, for Thy servants put their trust in Thee. Lo, now is Akyrios buried in the earth and seeth not the light; but Thou, O Lord my God! let Thy glance fall upon Thy servant, lead him up from the deepest of pits and hearken unto his prayers.'"

When the Egyptian King Pharaoh heard that Akyrios was killed he was greatly delighted, and sent a missive to King Sinagrip, in which he said: "From the Egyptain King Pharaoh to the Assyrian King, greeting! I desire thee to build a castle for me, which shall be neither in heaven nor upon earth; send me clever workmen, who will carry this out according to my wish, and answer me likewise a few questions in a wise manner. If thou wilt do it as I wish, thou shalt receive a three years' tribute from me; but if these people do not answer to my requirements, then thou must cede to me a three years' tribute from thy country."

When this missive was read aloud to King Sinagrip he gathered together all his wise men and caused the letter of King

Pharaoh to be read to them, and said: "Which of you will go to the land of Egypt, to King Pharaoh?" And they replied to him: "O King, thou thyself knowest that in thine own days and in the days of thy father, Akyrios managed every matter requiring prudence. Now there is his son Anadan, who has been instructed by him in all branches of wisdom; let him go there." When Anadan heard this, he cried with a loud voice in the King's presence: "Indeed, that is what I cannot accomplish! others may go." At this speech the King became very sad; he came down from his golden throne, wrapped himself in sackcloth, and began to lament, saying: "O Akyrios, why have I killed thee, my wisest counsellor, giving ear to a silly boy? I slew thee in one hour, and now I cannot find thy peer. Where can I find thee again, O Akyrios, whom I have killed in my rashness?"

When my friend heard these words of the King, he said to him: "O King, no one ought to transgress the commands of his master; but now thou mayest treat me as it pleaseth thee. I have saved Akyrios, and he is alive." Then the King answered and said: "O Lord my God! If what thou sayest be true, and if I see Akyrios again, I will give thee one hundred baskets of gold." And my friend replied: "On thy word of honour, wilt thou do him no harm?" The King said: "On my word of honour," and he commanded that Akyrios should be brought to him.

And I, Akyrios, appeared before the King, and did obeisance. The hair of my head reached down to my girdle; my body (face?) had become changed under the ground: and my nails were like the claws of an eagle. When the King perceived me, he burst into tears and felt ashamed in my presence, and after a little while he said to me: "O Akyrios, it is not I who have sinned against thee, but thy son Anadan." And I said: "O my lord! thou hast found out for thyself that I have never offended against thee." And he sent me to my house, where I remained for twenty days; then I came again into the King's presence, my body being as it was wont to be.

And the King said to me: "Hast thou heard, O Akyrios, what sort of a missive the Egyptian King has directed against the land

of Assyria? All have been seized with terror, and many people have run away from me." And I said to him: "It was my wont in the old days to act thus: if a man was overtaken by any kind of calamity, I came and set him free. Now they had heard that I was dead, and so they scattered themselves abroad. Do thou command that the people be told: 'Akyrios is alive.'" The people had come together because of Pharaoh's missive, and I, Akyrios, said to the King: "Do not be anxious, O King! I will answer him and I will also win the three years' tribute from him and bring it to thee." When the King heard this he was greatly delighted, and assembled his wise men who were.....him, and bestowed gifts on them. And to my friend who had given me back to him, he assigned a place above that of all the others.

Then I, Akyrios, sent word to my own house, saying, "Seek out two eaglets and feed them; command my falconers to teach them how to soar; make a cage and seek out a bold boy amongst my domestics; put him in the cage with the eagles and train them all to fly. The child must cry: 'Bring lime and stones; look! the workmen are ready.' And tie cords on their feet." And the slaves carried out my orders, and the people of Assyria and Nineveh returned to their homes. When the eagles were quite trained, I said to the King: "Now send me to King Pharaoh." He sent me thither and I took warriors with me. And before I had yet come to the city of Pharaoh, I made trial with the eagles[1]: and I saw that it was all as I approved. Then I proceeded into the town and sent a messenger to King Pharaoh: "Agreeably to the missive, which thou hast addressed to King Sinagrip, we are here." The King gave his commands and appointed me a dwelling, then he summoned me before him, and enquired my name; and I did not tell him it, but said: "My name is Obikam (Abesam), I am one of his[2] grooms." When Pharaoh heard that, he was seized with anger and said: "Am I then meaner than thy King? why has

[1] This is not clear in the original text. Perhaps it is: "I decided where the eagles were to be kept, and I saw that it was all as I approved."

[2] i.e. Sinagrip's.

he not sent some one better to me?" And I answered: "The better ones were sent to the better: and I was got for thee with difficulty." The King dismissed me to my retinue, saying: "Now go away from here, and come back to-morrow to answer my questions. If thou dost not answer them, I will give thy body as a prey to the fowls of the heaven and to the beasts of the earth."

On the morrow the King commanded me to be brought before him. He sat upon a golden throne, and was dressed in a robe of red purple, and his grandees were in robes of many hues. He asked me: "Unto what am I and unto what are my grandees like?" I said to him: "Thou, O King! art like the sun, and thy grandees are like the sunbeams." And after a short silence the King said to me: "Thy King is witty, and so art thou." He put some other questions to me: now he was likened unto the moon and his grandees unto the stars, and now unto the shimmer of the forest and his grandees unto the colour of the grass. All these questions and others like them I answered to his satisfaction. At last the King said to me: "I sent the ambassadors unto thy King, in order that a castle might be built for me between the heaven and the earth." Then I caused the two eagles to be brought, and in the presence of the King and of his people I let them soar aloft with the boy on them. And as the eagles sprang up, the boy cried, as he had been taught: "See! the workmen are ready; bring lime and stones, that they may not tarry." The King said: "Who can climb up to that height?" and I replied: "I have brought the workmen up, but you must get lime and stones. But if you do not get them, the blame will not be ours." And again I, Akyrios, cried: "Carry up lime and stones." But those people stood wondering how they could get the stones up. I, Akyrios, took a stick and began to beat his noblemen, so that they all ran away. Then Pharaoh got angry and said: "Why do you put me to this shame? why do you strike my people without cause? Who can take stones and lime up there?" I replied to him: "Is it you or I who is to do it, seeing that you began it? If King Sinagrip wished, he could build two castles in one day."

Then he said: "Go away from me, and let me see thee again to-morrow morning."

I returned and he said to me: "Is it thou, Akyrios? now, answer me this: What is the reason that when the asses in your country bray, our mares foal?" When I heard that, I ordered my servants to catch a live pole-cat and bring it to me. They went and brought it. Then I said to them: "Thrash it, so that the whole land of Egypt may hear." And they began to strike it. When the people heard it, they said to Pharaoh: "Akyrios is making merry over our gods." When Pharaoh heard that, he summoned me and said: "What art thou about, Akyrios?" And I replied: "This pole-cat has done a great deal of mischief. King Sinagrip had given me a bird, which I carried on my hand, and it sang to me, at whatever hour I wanted; and it waked me up, that I might appear before the King at the right hour. Now this pole-cat went last night and throttled my cock and returned hither again." Then Pharaoh said to me: "I see, Akyrios, that thou hast grown old and thy mind is weak. There are a thousand stadia between Egypt and the land of Assyria; how could this pole-cat have bitten off the head of thy cock in one night?" I, Akyrios, said to him: "And how could any one hear when the asses bray in Assyria and thy mares foal here? since there are a thousand stadia between Egypt and the land of Assyria."

When Pharaoh heard this speech, he was astonished and said to me: "Answer me this riddle: What is this? an oak, and on the oak twelve pillars, and on each of the pillars thirty wheels, and in each wheel two mice, one black and one white." And I said to him: "Well, all the shepherds know it in our country," and this is how I answered the question: "The oak is the year; the twelve pillars are twelve months; the thirty wheels are the thirty days in the month; and the two mice, one white and one black, are the day and the night."

Again Pharaoh said to me: "Twist me a rope of sand." I said to him: "Command thy slaves to bring one out of thy palace of the right shape and I will make it at once." Pharaoh said:

"I can give no heed to thy word; do thou as I have told thee." And I, Akyrios, considered in my heart and then I bored through the wall opposite to where the sun was, then I took the sand and shook it into the hole, and the sunbeam seemed furrowed like a rope. And I said to Pharaoh: "Command thy slaves to coil up the rope, so that I may twist another on the same spot." When Pharaoh heard this, he smiled and said: "Blessed be thou, O Akyrios, for this great wisdom of thine." And he prepared a great feast and gave me three years' tribute of the land of Egypt and dismissed me to my King.

When King Sinagrip heard of my return, he came forth to meet me with very great joy, and said to me: "What good dost thou wish me to do thee?" I said to him: "Give these presents to my friend who saved me, but deliver up to me my son Anadan, who has forgotten my teachings, with the former warnings he has had and all the philosophy." Then they brought him to me and the King said: "There is thy nephew Anadan, I deliver him up to thee; do with him what thou wilt." I brought him back home with me, and flung an iron chain round his neck and put his feet in the stocks and began to beat him and to torture him. I gave him, too, only scraps of bread and some water for food, and said to my slave, who was called Nagubil: "Write down what I shall say to Anadan."

My son Anadan, I set thee on the throne of honour and thou didst fling me into the mire. Thou wast to me like the goat which was feeding on fustic, and the fustic said to it: "Why dost thou feed on me, O goat! with what will they cleanse thy hide?" And the goat said: "I will eat thy leaves off, and thy roots will cleanse my hide."

Thou hast been to me, O my son! like a man who shot an arrow up to heaven. The arrow certainly did not reach heaven, but the man was guilty of a sin.

Thou hast been to me, O my son! like the man who saw that his friend was in a fury, and he poured water over him. My son, thou hadst the intention of taking my place; but God would not hearken to thy wicked proposals.

My son, thou hast been to me like the wolf who met the donkey and said: "I greet thee, O donkey!" but it said: "A like greeting should be given to my master, who fastened me so badly (i.e. so that I can get free and run into the open), and now thou wilt gobble me up."

My son, thou hast been to me like the trap to which there came a hare and asked: "What art thou doing here?" It said to him: "I offer prayers to God." "What hast thou got in thy mouth?" It said: "A little loaf." The hare came closer and was caught: then he said: "Thy loaf is bad, and God accepteth not thy prayers."

My son, thou art like the stag that held his head too high and broke his horns.

My son, thou hast been to me like the kettle for which they forged a golden chain while it was never free from soot itself.

My son, thou hast been to me like the apple-tree that grew over the water. How much fruit soever it bore, the water carried it away.

My son, thou hast been to me like the pole-cat to whom they said: "Give up stealing." But he said: "If I had eyes of gold, and hands of silver, I could not give it up."

I have seen a foal destroying its mother.

My son, I brought thee up. I nourished thee with mead and wine, and thou didst not even give me water.

My son, I anointed thee with precious ointment, and thou didst befoul my body with earth.

My son, thou hast been to me like the mole that crept out and lay in the sun; an eagle came and carried it away.

Then my son said: "Say no more, my lord! but have mercy on me. Men sin even against God and they are forgiven. I will groom thy horses and be herd of thy swine."

My son, thou hast been to me as when they said to the wolf: "Why dost thou follow the track of the sheep, and let their dust fill thine eyes?" But he said: "The dust of the sheep is wholesome for my eyes."

My son, they taught the wolf his alphabet, and they said to him: "Say A, B." But he said: "Buck, kid[1]."

My son, I taught thee what is good, and thou didst meditate evil against me; nevertheless God does only good and helps the upright to victory.

They put the head of an ass on a dish and it rolled in the ashes, and they said to the head: "Thou art thinking of nothing good, for thou dost shun a token of honour."

My son, it hath been said: "He to whom thou hast given birth, call him thy son, the alien is a slave."

In that hour Anadan died. Yes, my brethren, whoso doeth good, shall meet with good: and whoso digs a pit for another, shall fall into it himself.

Here endeth the tale of Akyrios. Glory be unto our God for ever and ever. Amen.

[1] See note, page 160.

A. S. L.

THE MAXIMS AND WISDOM OF KHIKAR.

From the Armenian Version.

THE maxims and wisdom of Khikar, which the children of men
1 learn. In the times and in the reign of Seneqarim King of
Nineveh and of Asorestan, I Khikar Notary of Seneqarim the
2 King took[1] sixty wives and builded me sixty palaces. And I
3 Khikar was sixty years of age, and I had not a son. Then I went
in to the gods with many offerings; I lit a fire before the gods
and cast incense[2] upon it, and presented my offerings and sacri-
ficed victims, kneeled down and prayed, and thus spake in my
prayer.

4 O my lords and gods, Belshim and Shimil and Shamin, ordain
and give to me male seed. For lo, Khikar dieth alive. And
what say men? That Khikar though alive and wise and clever is
dead, and there is no son of his to bury him, nor daughter to
bewail him. I have no heir after my death. Not even if a son
should spend ten talents in the last day, would he exhaust my
riches. But (I ask merely) that he may cast dust with his hands
upon me, in order that I may not remain unremembered.

5 Then there was a voice from the gods and they said:

6 Khikar, there is not ordained seed for thee. But thou shalt
take Nathan[3], thy sister's son, and bring him up as thy son, and
he shall pay thee back thy cost of rearing him[4].

[1] Can. thus: 'acquired me slaves and handmaids and many possessions. I builded' etc.

[2] Add 'of sweet odour' 58 and Edjm.

[3] So the better Arm. MSS. The inferior read *Nadan*.

[4] So Canon. Others have 'pay thee back thy name.' See note on Arm. text.

And when I heard this from the gods, I took Nathan my 7
sister's son; one year old was he, and I clad him in byssus and
purple; and a gold collar did I bind around his neck; and like a
king's son I decked him out with ornaments. And I gave him to 8
drink milk and honey, and laid him to sleep on my eagles and
doves, until he was seven years of age. Then I began to teach 9
him writing and wisdom and the art of knowledge and the
answering of dispatches, and the returns of contradictory speeches.
And by day and by night I ceased not to instruct him; and I
sated him with my teaching, as it were with bread and water.

Then saith the king unto me: Khikar, my Notary and wise 10
one, I know that thou art grown old; and after thy death, who is
there to discharge ably and wisely the affairs of our kingdom?
And I am very grieved at this thought. And I said to him: 11
O King, live for ever. There is my son, who is superior to me and
is more clever. And the king says: Bring him unto me, that I 12
may behold him. And when I had brought him and stood him
before the king, he beheld him and said: In his days may Khikar
be blessed, because in his lifetime he hath led and stood before
me his son, and may he himself be at rest.

I bowed my head to my lord, and taking Nathan I led him 13
into my dwelling and thus spake in my teaching[1].

1. Son, if thou hear any word in the royal gate, make it to c. ii.
die and bury it in thy heart, and to no one divulge it. The knot
that is sealed do thou not loose, and that which is loosed do thou
not tie. And that which thou dost see, tell not; and that which
thou hearest, reveal it not.

2. Son, raise not up thine eyes to look on a lovely woman,
rouged and antimonied. Desire her not in thy heart. For if
thou shouldest give her all thy riches, thou[2] dost get nothing the

[1] Canon adds: 'give ear to my conversation and precept. Write it on thy seal, and forget it not; that the years of thy life may be plentiful, and that in glory and wealth thou mayest reach old age.' No other Arm. source has such an addition, which however distantly resembles the Slavonic and Syriac.

[2] Bod = 'thou art not in any way benefited by her more than to be condemned by the God of just judgements and by mankind.' Canon = 'thou wilt not get

more out of her: but art condemned by God and by mankind. For she is like unto a sepulchre which is fair on the upper side and below is full of the rottenness and bones of the dead.

3. Son, be not like the olive-tree, which is first to bloom and last to ripen its fruit. But be like the mulberry, which is last to bloom and first to ripen its fruit.

4. Son, it is better with a wise man to carry stones, than with a foolish man to drink wine.

5. Son, with wise men be not a fool, and with fools be not thou wise.

6. Son, be thou the companion of a wise man, so that thou become wise as he is; but do not become the companion of a senseless man and of a fool, lest like them thou be called a fool.

7. Son, pour out thy wine, and drink it not with the senseless and with the lawless, lest thou be despised by them[1].

8. Son, be thou not over sweet, so that they swallow thee down, nor over bitter, so that they spit thee out. But do thou be gentle, tranquil in the works of thy paths and in all thy words.

9. Son, while the boot is on thy foot, tread down the thorns and make a path for thy feet[2].

10. Son, a rich man hath eaten a serpent, and they say it is medicine for him. A poor man[3] hath eaten it, and they say that he ate it out of hunger. Eat thy own portion in peace[4], and cast not thy eye on that of thy companion; and with one that is without fear go not on a journey; and with the senseless do thou not eat bread.

11. Son, if thou seest thy enemy fallen, do not make a scoff at him; for if he get up again, he requiteth thee evil[5].

12. Son, the lawless man falleth by his evil deeds, but the just man is raised by his good deeds.

anything more than thy own sin and shame from men and judgement from God,' omitting the rest.

[1] Canon and Edjm. = 'despised like them.'

[2] Canon, *ordotz* 'for thy sons': the other MSS have *otitz* 'for thy feet.'

[3] Lit. 'a poor man's son': It is a Semitism derived from the Syriac. Bod. omits '*son*.'

[4] Ven. and Canon add 'in peace': Bod. and 58 omit.

[5] Ven. adds: 'and there is continual ill-will.'

13. Son, go not near a senseless and backbiting woman, that thou be not despised by her[1]; and thou art made a mock of, and she robs thee.

14. Son, spare not the rod to thy son; for the rod is to children as the dung in the garden; and as the tie and seal fastening the packet, and as the tether on the foot of the ass, so is the rod profitable to the child. For if thou strike him with a rod once or twice, he is rendered sensible quietly, he does not die[2]. But if thou leave him to his own will, he becomes a thief; and they take him to the gallows and to death, and he becomes unto thee a reproach and breaking of heart[3].

15. Son, train thy son in hunger and thirst, in order that in humility he may lead his life.

16. Son, receive not any who shall repeat to thee the (word) of an enemy, for they will repeat thy word.

17. Son[4], at first thou art fond of a false man[5], but in the end he becomes hateful to thee. For a false word is like a fat quail; but he that is foolish swallows it down.

18. Son, love the father who begat thee, and earn not the curses of thy father and mother; to the end that thou mayest rejoice in the prosperity of thy own sons.

19. Son, without a weapon go not on a journey by night[6], lest thy enemy meet thee, and thou be destroyed.

20. Son, as a tree is enjoyable to see for its fruit and branches, and the mountains are wooded with the cedars, in the same way are enjoyable to behold man and wife[7] and son and brother and kinsman and friend, and all families.

[1] The Arm. = by them. If that be read, we should turn *woman* into the plural.

[2] Bod. = 'once or twice, he is quieted, but does not die.' I render the Venice text which is attested by Canon.

[3] Canon here adds in agreement with the Syriac and Slavonic these two precepts: Son, make thy child obedient, while he is small and pliant, lest he come into open conflict with thee; and thou be undone by his injury, and win the curses of strangers because of his disobedience. Son, acquire for thyself a sturdy ass and a strong-hoofed horse and an ox short in neck. And desire not a runaway slave, or one petulant of tongue, or a quarrelsome thief.

[4] 58 omits this adage.

[5] So Bod., 56: Ven. = 'at first (one) loves a false man.'

[6] Canon adds 'by night' with the Slavonic. The other sources omit with the Syriac.

[7] Ven. omits 'and wife.' The other sources with Canon add it.

21. Son, one who hath not wife or son or brother or kinsman or friend is in the long years despised, and is like unto a tree that is in the cross ways, and all who pass by it pluck off her leaves and break down her branches.

22. Son[1], say not thus: My lord is foolish and I am wise, but bear with him in his folly; and thou wilt keep thyself with a wise man, until some other one shall praise thee.

23. Son, say ill to no one; and be thou not evil-tongued in the presence of thy lord, that thou be not contemned by him.

24. Son, go not astray on the day of thy sacrifice, for fear lest the Lord be displeased with thy sacrifice[2].

25. Son, quit not the scene of mourning and repair unto the wedding; for death lies ahead of all, and the punishment is great.

26. Son, put not on thy finger a gold[3] ring which is not thine; nor clothe thee in byssus and purple that is not thine. Neither mount a horse that is not thine, since the onlookers who know it will make mock at thee[4].

27. Son, eat not bread that is not thine own, even though thou be very hungry.

28. Son, if a man be stronger than thyself, have no controversy with him, lest he slay thee.

29. Son, crush and consume the evil out of thy heart, and it is well for thee with God and man, and thou art holpen by the will of God.

30. Son, if thy doorposts be loftily built to heaven as it were seven ells, whenever thou enterest, bow thy head.

31. Son, take not from others with a big weight and give back to them with a little weight, and say: I have made a profit. For God allows it not, but will be wroth; and thou wilt die of starvation.

32. Son, swear not false, that of thy days there be no fail[5].

[1] 58 omits this adage.
[2] 58 adds 'which thou offerest.'
[3] 58 adds 'or silver.'
[4] Bod. and 58 add 'when they recognize it.'
[5] Bod. and 58 add 'upon the earth.'

33. Son, give ear unto the laws of God, and be not afraid of the evil (one), for the commandment of God is the rampart of man.

34. Son, rejoice thou not in the number of thy children, and in their deficiency be not distressed.

35. Son, children and possessions are bestowed by God. The rich man is made poor, the poor man is enriched; the humble is exalted, and the exalted is humbled.

36. Son, if lofty be the lintels of thy house, and thy friend be sick, say not: What shall I send him? but go on foot and see him with thy eyes; for that is better for him than a thousand talents of gold and silver.

37. Son, in reward for evil-speaking receive not gold and silver, for it is a death-fraught deed and very evil. And shed not just blood unrighteously, lest thy blood be shed in return for his blood.

38. Son, keep thy tongue from evil speaking and thine eye from immodest glances, and thine hand from stealing; and it will be well for thee with God and man. For whether it be gold or little things that one steals, the punishment and the slaying is one and the same.

39. Son, commit not adultery with thy friend's wife, lest God be angry and others commit adultery with thy wife.

40. Son, take not a widow to wife, for whenever there is any word between you, she will say: Alas, for my first husband! and thou art distressed.

41. Son, if retribution overtake thee from God, flee not nor murmur; lest God be angry and with another harsher stroke destroy thee untimely.

42. Son, love not thy son better than thy servant, for thou knowest not which of them will be useful to thee.

43. Son, the sheep that stray from the flock become the portion of the wolves.

44. Son, pass a just judgement in thy mind, and honour the aged; to the end that thou mayest receive honour from the great judge, and that it may be well with thee.

45. Son, incline thine eyes and soften the utterance of thy mouth, and look under thine eyes: that thou mayest not appear senseless to men, for if a temple were built by hallooings, an ass would build seven palaces[1] in a day and cottages (?).

46. Son, boast not in the day of thy youth, lest thy youth be thy destruction.

47. Son, suffer not thy companion to tread on thy feet, lest he should presume and tread on thy neck[2] as well.

48. Son, speak not in wrath with thine adversary before the judge, lest thou be called senseless[3] and foolish. But whatever he asks thee, answer him with sweetness; and thou wilt heap up his judgement on his head.

49. Son, if thou petitionest God for good, first fulfil His will with fasting and prayer, and then are fulfilled thy petitions unto thy good.

50. Son, a good name is better than a face that excites longing. For beauty is destroyed[4], but a good name endureth for ever.

51. Son, it is better to be blind of eye than blind of mind; for he that is blind of eye is quick to learn the coming and going of the road. But the blind in mind forsakes the straight road, and walks according to his will.

52. Son, a side-bone in thine own hand is better than a fat lamb in the hand of others. A bird in thy hand is better than a thousand fluttering in the air. A kid for sacrifice[5] in thine own house is better than a steer in the house of others.

53. Son, it is better to garner with poverty[6] than to squander with riches.

[1] So Ven. which has *aparans*. The other MSS with Canon have *darbas*, a word not given in lexicons, but which must have the same sense. The meaning of the word 'tchardakhs' is unknown and I query my rendering. Canon omits it, perhaps rightly. Canon has this precept 45 after no. 2 of our series and adds to it in that context this: Son, if the oxen by sheer strength drew along, the yoke would not diminish from the neck of the camel.

[2] Bod. add 'and head.'

[3] Bod.: 'lest thou appear senseless and unprofitable.'

[4] Bod. 'passes.'

[5] So Bod. and Canon: Ven. has 'a fat kid in' etc., where *parart* 'fat' is a corruption of *patarag*, which is the *potior lectio* and better attested.

[6] Canon: 'Better is poverty with repose than'...

54. Son, curse not thy son, until thou see his end; and reject him not in scorn, until thou behold his latter end and requital and earnings.

55. Son, examine the word in thy heart and then utter it. For if thou alter the word, thou art a fawner.

56. Son, if thou hearest an evil word about anyone, hide it in thy heart seven fathoms deep; so that the evil die and the good be fulfilled.

57. Son, do thou not scoff frivolously; for the frivolous scoff is a quarrel, and the quarrel is slaying and death.

58. Son, the false word and the false conversation is heavy as lead; but after a few days it floats upon the waters, like the leaf of a tree.

59. Son, reveal thy lesser counsel to thy friend, and after days irritate him and flout him. And[1], if he does not reveal that counsel, then reveal to him thy greater counsels, and thou keepest him a trusty friend.

60. Son, in the presence of kings and judges, be helpful to thy comrade; for, as it were from the mouth of a lion, dost thou rescue him; and he becometh to thee a good name and a glory.

61. Son, if thine enemy come to thee to thy foot, grant him pardon and laugh with joy to his face and receive him with honour.

62. Son, where thou art not invited, go not for a festival; and where they ask thee not, give no answer.

63. Son, over a river frozen and swollen pass thou not, lest thou die a sudden death.

64. Son, ask of a wise man words of advice[2], and thou shalt be made wise. But if thou ask a foolish man, in spite of many words, he is not wise.

65. Son, if thou sendest a wise man to give any command, he himself fulfils the matter. But if thou sendest a fool, give

[1] Bod. 'and see, if' and below 'and keep him' etc.

[2] 'words of wisdom' Bod.

the command in the presence of many men. And do thou either go thyself or not send him.

66. Son, test thy son in hunger and thirst; and if he is able to bear it, then give thy riches into his hands.

67. Son, from the house of invitation and from the wedding go first before thy fellow, and return not again[1]; that thou mayest get a good name[2] and mayest get no wounds on the head.

68. Son, a man who has many possessions and chattels, they call him wise and virtuous; but one who has few chattels, they call a fool and of no account, and no man honoureth him.

69. Son, I have eaten endive and I have drunk gall, and it was not more bitter than poverty. I have lifted salt, and I have lifted lead, and it was not heavier than is debt. For though I ate and drank, I could not rest[3]. I have lifted iron and I have lifted stones upon my shoulders, and it was better for me than to dwell with the ignorant and the fool.

70. Son, if thou be poor among thy fellows, reveal it not: lest thou be despised by them, and they hearken not unto thy words.

71. Son[4], love thy flesh and thy wife. For she is thyself and the companion of thy life, and even by extreme labour she nurtures thy son[5].

72. Son, if thy lord send thee to bring a dunged grape, bring it not to him; for he will eat the grape, yet not let thee off punishment for the dung.

73. Son, the word of a wise man in drink is better than the word of a fool that is thirsty or sober. Better is an upright slave than one free but false. Better is a friend near at hand than a brother far away.

74. Son, reveal not thy secret counsel to thy wife. For she is

[1] Perhaps the sense is 'and stay not till the last.'

[2] Canon: 'that thou mayest be anointed with fragrant oil' etc. Compare the Syriac.

[3] Canon adds: 'until I repaid the debt.'

[4] This precept, No 41 in the series of 58, is not in Ven.

[5] 58 here repeats precept 15.

weak and small of soul, and she reveals it to the powerful, and thou art despised.

75. Son, if thou drinkest wine, keep thy tongue from babbling, and it is well for thee and thou art called wise.

76. Son, without a schedule and witness, give not up thy property, lest the other deny it and thou regret it.

77. Son, forsake not thy friend, lest thou find not another sharer of thy counsel and friend[1].

78. Son, love thy father who begat thee, and incur not the curse of thy father and mother, so that thou mayest rejoice in the prosperity of thy sons.

79. Son, it is better if they steal thy goods, than that they detect theft in thee.

80. Son, if God prosper a man in his undertakings, do thou honour him. And whenever thou beholdest an aged man, do thou rise and stand up before him and magnify him.

81. Son, oppose not thyself to a wealthy man and to a river in flood. For the eyes of a grasping man are not filled[2] except with dust[3].

82. Son, do thou not bring about a betrothal match, for they see the good to be from God and from luck; but the bad is traced to thee, and they call thee an intriguing person[4].

83. Son, if the rivers pause in their courses or the sun in its career, or if the gall become sweet as honey, or the raven turn white as the dove, even so will the senseless man abandon his want of sense and the fool become sensible.

84. Son, go not too often[5] to the house of thy friend, lest he hate thee.

85. Son, a dog that leaves his master and follows after thee, pursue him with stones[6].

86. Son, good deeds and a pure offering are pleasing to God; and do thou fear shame as thou fearest God.

[1] Nos. 77 and 79 are only given in 58.
[2] 69 adds: 'with treasure.' [3] 58 om. 81.
[4] The Armenian is obscure here.
[5] Canon adds 'on foot.' [6] Bod. Ven. add: 'which is not.' Canon omits

87. Son, the taking of an evil counsel into thy heart is the antagonism of the *dev*[1]; and resistance is the foundation of deeds, and the rampart of faith.

88. Son, that which seems evil unto thee, do not to thy companion; and what is not thine own, give not unto others.

89. Son, love the truth and hate lawlessness and[2] falsehood. Give ear unto the commandments of God, and fear not the evil one. For the commandment of God is the rampart of man.

90. Son, flee from a man that is evil and speaketh falsely; for avarice is the mother of all evils, and all evils are engendered of impudence.

91. Son, love not judgement[3]; for even if thou get the better of thine adversary, yet be in fear of the judgement of God.

92. Son, he that is upright in mind is the sun giving light, and he that is treacherous in heart is gloomy with darkness; and he that is generous in heart is full of pity. He that is grasping, even though he has aught, is nevertheless dull of wit.

93. Son[4], into the house of a drunkard enter not; and if thou enter, tarry not; for in thy habits thou remainest empty and idle.

94. Son, malign not thy fellow whether near or at a distance; for evil words will quickly reach the master and lead to quarrels[5].

95. Son, God hath ordained wine for the sake of gladness, but in the place of a brothel or in any other low and unsuitable place, it is better to drink muck than wine.

95 *b*. Son, a drunken man is like an arrow in the hollow (*lit.* palate) of a bow, which strikes no one else, but bruises its own head.

96. Son, a drunken man thinks in his mind thus: I am brave, and everything that I say, I say wisely. He does not know that if he meets with a man of courage, he will throw him at the first touch of his hands flat on the ground and drag him.

[1] Or to the *dev*, a Persian word which in old Armenian usually means a demon.
[2] Ven. om. 'lawlessness and.' [3] Canon adds 'of injustice.'
[4] Nos. 93–100 are only given in Codex Paris 58 and Venet.
[5] Codex 58 gives this precept in late and obscure Armenian, and its text is clearly faulty.

(97. Son, if thou behold thine enemy fallen, do thou sorrow over him, that thou mayest make a friend of him; but if thou mock at him, when he gets up again he will requite thee with evil[1].)

98. Son, a drunken man thinks that the earth whirls round; in his going he knows not that his head is deranged; for as the earth is the mother of all plants and fruit-bearing things, so wine is the mother of all evils, it doth cause men to be sick with divers sicknesses, and to slay others without mercy; it deranges the man and changes his nature into that of a brute.

99. Son, avoid guaranteeing; but if you become a guarantor, make up your mind that you must give away out of your purse; and not your purse only, but the hair off your chin[2].

100. Son, be thou not false in speech; for if they find thee to be once false, then when thou speakest the truth, they will reckon thee false and will not believe thee[3].

And I say to Nathan: Son, receive into thy mind my precepts and forget them not.

101 The questions[4] of the king's sons and the answer of Khikar.

Houday and Baliayn asked questions of Khikar, and Khikar said to Nathan: There are four things that increase the light to man's eyes,—to look upon flowers, to tread with naked foot on the green, to walk amidst the water and to see one's friend.

102 Four things are there which make a man fat and keep him healthy;—to wear linen and to hear such things as seem to him pleasant; in the house an amiable and healthy spirit and to 103 see one's remote (friend) well off. And four things are there which improve a man's banquet, at all times to converse well, not to answer everything that is said, to walk humbly, to talk little 104 modesty in small matters and big ones. And four things are

[1] This precept has already come as No. 11, in almost identical language.

[2] This precept is in bad late Armenian and I give the sense of the last clause conjecturally.

[3] This precept also is in late Armenian.

[4] The passage which follows until the resumption of the narrative is written in vulgar Armenian. Ven. gives the names thus: Shoutay and Bayiḷan.

there which bring tears (*lit.* water) to one's face—domination of love, to talk too much and to boast that one knows what one does not know, (to conceal everything, to weave a snare and fall into it), and[1] false-speaking.

105 They asked the sage and said: What is the most pleasing thing on earth? He replied: Modesty. He that hath a modest face is pleasing. For all evils are born of impudence and folly.

And[a] these were the precepts which I taught to Nathan my sister's son. All this I taught to Nathan my sister's son, I Khikar,
c. iii. 1 chief Notary of Seneqarim the king. And so I supposed in my mind that the teaching and precepts which I taught to Nathan would abide and remain and that he would preserve it in his mind. And I knew not that he despised my words, and scattered them like the chaff before the wind, supposing in his mind that Khikar his father was grown very old and had arrived at the door of his tomb. His mind (he said) is distraught and his thoughts are deficient and he knows nothing.

2 Nathan began to dissipate my property to its loss, and spared not my servants and handmaids. But he tormented them and killed them, and cut about my horses and mules, and my steeds, and destroyed the very pick of the flock.

3 And when I saw Nathan my sister's son, that he was transforming my affairs, and dissipating my property, I began to speak

[a] What follows is in MS Canon given in a form which often more nearly resembles the Syriac than do the better Armenian copies, as below:

All this I taught to Nathan my sister's son, thus thinking that what I taught he kept in his heart and would live in the royal gate. And I knew not that he scorned my words, and scattered them like dust before the wind. Forthwith he began to waste my chattels and my possessions. He spared not my slaves and maidservants nor even my darlings and my friends, but bound and ill-treated them; wounded with violent blows and destroyed my steeds continually.

When I saw that Nathan counterfeited (*or* metamorphosed) my affairs, then I spared my chattels lest he should ruin them. And I

[1] Ven. omits the words in brackets.

with him and I said: Keep away from my property, and come not near it, for it is written in the Proverbs that, whereon hands have not laboured, that thing his eye spareth not. And I went and told Seneqarim my lord. And he called Nathan and said: As long as Khikar is alive, thou shalt not touch his property. In that season Nathan saw Boudan[1] his brother, who had been brought up in my house, and said: Khikar my father is grown old and his words have lost their savour. And when I heard this, I cast him out from all my belongings. But Nathan formed a plan of wickedness in his heart. He wrote in my name a letter to the enemy of Seneqarim, the King of Nineveh and Asorestan; and it was as follows:

I Khikar, chief Notary of Seneqarim the king, have sent to thee, O King of the Egyptians, to this effect: When this writing reaches thee, thou shalt muster thy forces, and come to the plain of the Eagles on the 25th day of the month Hrotitz, and I will put in your power the land of the Asores, and will give the throne of Seneqarim into thy hand without trouble, for thee to hold it.

said to Nathan: Come not near my chattels, for it is said in the wise ones, that hands which have not been hard worked, the eye shall not spare. And I went and told my lord Seneqarim. And the king ordered Nathan and said: As long as thy father Khikar is alive, go not near his possessions, but remain in the royal gate, and let thy father Khikar remain in his gate, and rest in his old age.

I Khikar when I saw all this that Nathan did, I said in my heart: Alas! How hath Nathan despised my sweet advice, and all my wisdom hath he set at naught and quite despised.

Then Nathan went into the house of the king and planned very great evils for me. For he wrote two letters. One he sent to Pharaon, king of Egypt, since he was an enemy of my lord Seneqarim, and it was written as follows:

I Khikar notary of Seneqarim king of Asorestan and Nineveh to Pharaon king of Egypt write. Be it in thy cognisance, when this dispatch reaches thee, at once shalt thou muster thy forces and come to the plain of Eagles on the 25th day of the month Hrotitz, and I will lead and make thee king over these without trouble.

[1] In Bodleian MS *Baudan.*

10 And he had made his handwriting to resemble my handwriting, and had sealed it with my seal. And when the forces of the king asked to go home to their homes, Nathan alone remained before the king, and said: O King, live for ever. I that have eaten bread and salt in thy house, God forbid that I should see evils before thee. Khikar my father, who was in honour and greatness before thee, hath lied to me and to thee, and hath taken the side of thy enemies. And the letter which Nathan had written in my words, and had likened his handwriting to my handwriting therein, he took, and read the dispatch which he himself had sealed, before the king.

11 And when the king heard it, he was very much distressed, and said: What wrong have I done to Khikar, that he has so behaved

And again a letter which had this form:

From Seneqarim king, health (*or* peace) to Khikar notary of my tribunal. When there shall come to thee this dispatch, thou shalt prepare my forces which are under thy hand; exactly on the 25th day of the month Hrotitz thou shalt come to meet me on the plain of Eagles. And when thou comest near draw up face to face against my forces, as if it were being prepared against thine enemies. For the envoys of Pharaon are come unto me to see our forces and tremble.

And this letter Nathan sent to me as if by the command of the king. And he himself Nathan stood before the king and said: King, live for ever. I have eaten bread and salt in thy house. God forbid that I should deceive my king.

For my father Khikar, whom thou didst send unto rest, unto honour, unto glory, hath not done according to the command of your kingship, but hath played false to God and your kingship. And he had given the letter to certain trusty men of the king, and they gave it to the sovereign; and the sovereign gave it to Nathan and said: Read. And Nathan read it before the king, and the king was sorely troubled, and asked those who gave him the letter: Who gave into your hands this letter? And as Nathan had charged them, they answered with one mind, saying: Travellers that were going into Egypt. They had the letter, and we thy servants found them and took them by force. And when we asked them: Whence are ye? they answered, We are native slaves of Khikar.

And the king was troubled and said to the trusty men: What harm

to me? And at once Nathan wrote by the command of the king a letter thus conceived:

When thou readest this writing, thou shalt muster thy hosts 12
and shalt come to the plain of the Eagles on the 25th day of the month Hrotitz. And whenever thou shalt see me, thou shalt draw up in battle array against me. For the messengers of Pharaon are come to me to see my hosts.

He brought the letter to me, and he himself went to the king. 13
He stood before the king and said: Grieve not, O ruler; but come, 14
let us go to the plain of the Eagles, and let us see whether this be so. Then what thou commandest is done.

And Seneqarim took his army and came to the plain of the 15
Eagles, and found me with my army; and I drew up my forces over against him as he had commanded. When the king saw this, he was very grieved. Nathan began to speak and said: Grieve 16
not, O king, but let us go home. And I will bring my father Khikar before thee. The king said to Nathan: If thou bringest Khikar before me, I will give thee very great presents and I will set thee in trust over all my affairs. And all the affairs of my kingdom shall be transacted by thee with ability.

And the king returned to his palace, and Nathan my sister's 17

then have I done to Khikar, that he hath devised such a snare for me? Wherefore hath he returned evil for good? Nathan replied and said: Be not troubled, O mighty king. But let us go to the plain of the Eagles, as is written in the dispatch; and let us see if it is so, then let thy behests be done.

And Nathan took the king and went to the plain of the Eagles. But I, Khikar, when I learned of the setting out of the king, prepared my forces and set them over against him, as had been written in the dispatch by behest of the king.

When the king saw my forces, he was sore troubled. The king said: If thou bringest Khikar before me, mighty presents will I give thee, and all the royal affairs shall be discharged by thee; for thou hast been found a trusty servant before me. And the king went back into his palace.

And Nathan came to me and said: My father Khikar, very

son came to me and said: Seneqarim the king hath sent me to
c. iv. 1 thee and says: Come to me and let us be joyful together. And when I went, the king said to me:

Khikar, Notary and wise man, thou wast my counsellor and ruler, and giver of commands of the house of the Asores and Ninevites; and thou hast gone over to the side of my enemies.
2 And that letter, which Nathan had written in my[1] words and had likened therein his handwriting to my handwriting, the king gave unto me and said: Take and read.

And when I read it, all my limbs[2] were dissolved, and my tongue was shrivelled up as parchment; and I was stupefied and became like one of those distraught. I sought for a word of
3 wisdom and found no answer to give. Nathan began to speak, and said to me: Get out of the presence of thy king, grey-haired one, perverted and inane[3]. Give thy hand for the iron and thy
4 foot for the fetter. And the king turned away his face from me and said to Abusmaq, his *nayip*: Lead away and slay yon godless Khikar, and remove his head afar, about 100 ells.

5 And I fell on my face and kissed the earth and said: O King, live for ever. Thou hast willed me to slaying, and hast not hearkened unto my words. And I from my heart know that I have not in any way wronged thee, and in my heart there is no guile. I am innocent. Therefore have pity on me, and order that in my own house they slay me and give over my body for burial.

6 And the king ordered Abusmaq, that they should slay me in my own house. And when I went forth from the king, I wrote a letter lamenting to Abestan my wife and said: When this letter

honourable and pleasing hath seemed to the king this preparing of thy cavalry in array. Therefore hath he sent me to thee and saith: All thou hast done, thou hast done well and wisely. So then give orders to thy forces to go to their place, and do thou come and let us make merry together.

[1] Ven. omits 'my.'
[2] Bod. = all the flesh of my limbs.
[3] The Arm. word is obscure.

reaches thee, do thou send out to meet me a thousand virgins; and let them put on apparel of mourning and let them mourn for me and bewail me, that I may see with my own eyes even the wailers who bewail me in my life-time. But[a] thou shalt make 7
large loaves, to give to my executioners, and dainty viands for them to eat and drink.

And Abestan my wife was very wise and[1] fulfilled my orders. 8
She went out to meet them[2], and led them into the house, and set before them a table; and fed them, and gave them to drink old wine and unmixt, till they were fuddled and were drunk and fell asleep. Then I and my wife fell at the feet of Abusmaq weeping, 9
and I said to him: Abusmaq, my comrade, look up to heaven and behold God with thine eyes; and remember the bread and salt which we have eaten together, and remember how that they betrayed thee to Seneqarim the king's father; and I took and kept thee until the king asked for thee, and how, when I led thee before him, he gave me mighty gifts. Now therefore keep me 10
and render to me a return of the service I rendered thee, and to

[a] The narrative that follows is given in MS Canon in a form more closely resembling the Syriac as below.

And they shall make and prepare a table, adorned with all good things, for Abousmaq and the Parthians who are with me. Thou shalt go out to meet these and shalt lead them into the house.

And Arphestan my wife did immediately what I had commanded; and we set out to my house. And Abousmaq and the Parthians reclined, and my wife set before them a table, and waited on them. And I entered with them to eat bread; and they were fuddled with wine.

And I said to Abousmaq my comrade, Look up to heaven and discern God with thine eyes and remember the love of our brotherhood. And sin not against my blood, for thou knowest that I am innocent. But remember also this, that the sire of Seneqarim gave thee into my hands for slaying; and I wronged thee not, for I knew that thou wast innocent. And I kept thee until the king made a request; and then I led thee before the king, and the king gave me mighty gifts. This

[1] 92 and 58 alone add the words 'was...and.'

[2] Cod. "me."

thee there will be mighty gifts as thy requital, good for good[1]. I have a man in prison, and very like unto me is he. He shed blood in my house and is under sentence of death, and his name is Seniqar. Take therefore my garments into the prison and dress him up in them and slay him; and so thou fulfillest the king's command.

11 And when I said this, Abusmaq had pity on me, and did my will and what I told him. And the soldiers, fuddled, woke up from sleep[2] at midnight, and slew Seniqar my slave, and removed
12 his head from him one hundred ells. And the news went forth into the city of Asorestan, that Khikar, Notary and wise man, was dead.

Then Abusmaq my comrade and Abestan my wife made me a house dug out under ground, its[3] length seven ells, and its height equal to my head's, hard by the door-posts of my house.
13 And they shut me in and placed beside me bread and water, and then Abusmaq went off to the king and told him that 'Khikar the wise is slain.' And all who heard of my death beat their breasts and were full of regret and said: 'Alas for thee, O Notary! Who is there to decide the matters of thy kingdom with thy ability?'

14 Then the king called Nathan and said to him: 'Go, make
15 lamentations for the house and mourning for thy father.' Nathan[a] came, and instead of lamenting he gathered together actors, and

do thou likewise and slay me not. There is my slave whose name is Sêniphar, and very like is he unto me. And he is in prison, because he is under sentence of death. So then lead me into prison and dress him up in my garments and cast him to the Parthians, for them to slay him....

[a] MS Canon has the narrative which follows in a form nearer to the Syriac. It is given below:

And Nathan went off to the house of Khikar, but with him there

[1] Bod. has 'will be a requital from God': Paris 92 'will be mighty gifts.' I render the Ven. MS.

[2] So Ven. and 92: the rest='fuddled with wine, woke up at.'

[3] Canon='its height three ells and its length seven ells, equal to (*or* level with) the doorposts of my house.'

made great cheer; and he very cruelly tormented my servants and handmaids. And even for Abestan my wife he had no respect, 16
but desired to fornicate with her, that had brought him up. And I from my subterranean chamber heard the weeping and groanings and the complaints of my servants. And I moreover wept and 17
my soul longed for a little bread and a morsel of meat and a cup. And I was destitute of all my chattels. And all the inhabitants of Asorestan and of Nineveh fled from me.

When the king of Egypt heard this, of how Khikar the Notary c. v. 1
was dead, and of the Ninevites and all the land (that) they were fled, he was very glad. And the king of Egypt, Pharaon, wrote a letter as follows:

To Seneqarim, king of the Asores. Health be to thy Lordship 2
and Kingship. Be it known to thee that I desire to build a palace hung betwixt heaven and earth. Look and send unto me a true and clever and wise man who can build, and also give answer to any question I ask. If however thou shalt neglect this 3

was no concern for mourning. And he collected all his dear ones to drink wine and made great good cheer, instead of mourning as the king commanded. Using force to the dear ones of Khikar he tortured them and had no respect for Arphestan wife of Khikar, nay rather desired to fornicate with her.

And I Khikar was hearing the voice of my stewards whom Nathan tortured and illtreated. And I was tortured in the darkness. My soul was longing for bread and a morsel of meat.

And when Pharaon heard that Khikar was slain, he was very glad, and wrote a dispatch to the king Seneqarim, riddles.

And the king called Nathan and said: Write an answer to this letter.

And Nathan said: Difficult is this matter. Who is able to give answer thereto?

And the king was distressed and said: Alas for Khikar my secretary and wise man!

And when Pharaon learned, that they could not give an answer to his writing, he sent puissant forces and they took tribute from Seneqarim. And as long as Khikar languished in the prison, the burden of Pharaon was multiplied on Asorestan and Nineveh. Those who

request, then I come and take away thy kingdom and will lay waste
4 thy land. When the king heard this he was very grieved, and sent
and mustered his satraps to ask their advice, saying: What shall we
5 do? The[1] satraps say: O King, who else can answer this question
except Nathan who hath learned of Khikar and knoweth his lore
and hath been brought up in his house? He will be able to give
him an answer to this demand which the king of Egypt hath
written. Then the king called Nathan and shewed him the
counsel; and he gave him the dispatch, and Nathan read it.
6 When he had read aloud the letter, he cried out with a loud voice
and said: This[2] is a matter which even the gods[3] cannot settle
or give answer to. How shall I be able to give answer?
7 When the king heard, he rose from his golden throne and sat
in the ashes, and with his own hands he smote his face and
plucked out his beard and said: 'Alas for thee, Khikar, Notary

were under the hand of Seneqarim also were much impoverished and all the land laid waste, and the chambers of the royal treasury were emptied.

And the king said: Alas for Khikar, secretary and wise man. One who should give thee to me alive, many chattels would I give him, even to the half of my kingdom.

And Abousmaq revealed it not to the king, that he might be in stress and know the value to him of Khikar.

And Pharaon sent a dispatch to king Seneqarim which had this tenour: From Pharaon to Seneqarim health. I desire to build a palace....

This when Nathan heard, he cried with a loud voice and said: King, live for ever. Such a matter as that the gods could not make answer to. Surely then not men?

When the king heard this he was very distressed. He rose from his throne and sat on sackcloth, beat his person and said: Alas for Khikar, able notary and wise. On the words of a lying man I slew

[1] Canon: And they perplext said: To such a matter Khikar would give an answer, and now Nathan who is in his place.

[2] Canon: Such a matter the gods cannot answer, much less men. When the king heard, he was sorely troubled; he rose...

[3] The Arm. word used is *dign*, i.e. the *Devs*.

and wise in the conversations of men, I have through the tittle-tattle of men destroyed thee. For thou didst arrange the affairs of our kingdom. Now if anyone gave thee unto me, I would give him whatever he asked of me, no matter how great a treasure of silver and gold.'

When Abusmaq my comrade heard this, he stood before the 8
king and said: 'O King, live for ever. He that doeth not the king's commands is sentenced to death, for the commands of God and of the king are one. Thou didst bid slay Khikar, and he is still living.' The king said: 'Speak, Abusmaq, my servant and 9
trusty one. If thou canst shew me Khikar alive, I will give thee[1] byssus and purple and bestow on thee mighty presents.' And 10
Abusmaq, when he heard this from the king, like a swiftly flying fowl, came unto me, and opened the door of my subterranean chamber, and led me forth. And the colour of my face was 11
changed and my head[2] was matted and my nails grown like an eagle's.

When the king beheld me[3], he bent his head and was ashamed 12
to look in my face; and hardly looked in my face, his face being full of shame; and[a] he said to me: O my loved and honourable

him. There is none like thee. And there is no successor like thee in the royal gate. If anyone gave thee to me, I would weigh him against gold and buy thee. When Abousmaq learned the deep distress of the king, he said: My lord king, he that contemns the behests of his lord and fulfils them not is guilty of death. Now then this word of mine is fulfilled in me. For I fulfilled not the behest of my lord. Thou didst make behest to slay Khikar, and now he is still alive.

And the king said: Speak, speak, my servant, well-doing and trusty. For thou hast not sinned. But of many good things hast thou become worthy. If thou shewest me Khikar, I will give thee royal purples and one hundred thousand talents of gold.

[a] For the text of MS Canon see below:

And he sent me to the bath for them to wash and anoint me with

[1] Bod. 'will array thee in.'
[2] Canon: 'the hair of my head.'
[3] Bod. adds: 'in such plight.'

brother Khikar, go to thy house and repair thy person for 40 days, and then come unto me. And I did so. And I came back again to the king, and the king said: I have sinned against thee, father Khikar. Not I is it that has sinned against thee, but Nathan thy sister's son, whom thou didst bring up.

13 And I fell on my face and kissed the earth before the king and said: Forasmuch as I have seen the face of the king, I am alive, and all evils are turned for me into wellbeing. Forasmuch as thy servant Khikar has found grace.

c. vi. 1 The king said: Hast thou heard this, O honourable good Khikar, to wit, what the Egyptian has sent and that which is said, that the inhabitants of Nineveh and Asorestan are fled? And I said to the king: Therefore let a herald proclaim at the gate of thy palace, that Khikar is alive; and all who shall hear it will return, each man to his place. And the king commanded a herald to cry, saying: Khikar is alive; and that all the dwellers in Nineveh and Asorestan are returned, each man to his place.

2 And I said to the king Seneqarim: Concerning this matter which the Egyptian has sent, do thou not be anxious. I will go and give him answer and will bring to thee the tribute from
3 Egypt. When the king heard this he was glad, and established Abusmaq at the head of the divan. And on the morrow I wrote to Abestan my wife and said as follows:—

fragrant oil (omitting the direct speech of the king on this point). And they did so, and brought raiment of great price and clad me in it. And the king brought and set me close to him. And all that he had promised to Abûsmaq he fulfilled amply.

Then the king brought the letter of Pharaon and gave it to me, and said: Read and give an answer to this letter.

And I took and read it, and said to the king: Send yon envoys to go to their place. And I will later set out and fulfil the behests of Pharaon.

And when they were gone, I Khikar secretary sent and had brought two eaglets....

'When thou readest this writing, do thou have caught two 4
nestlings of an eagle, and two children not yet able to talk, and
two nursing women to nurse the little ones. And they shall
say: Clay, lime, mortar, brick. The artisans stand idle. And
have two ropes spun, the length thereof two hundred ells, and
the thickness thereof one ell. And cause a carpenter to fit 5
together two cages for the children; and give food to the eagles,
every day two lambs. And cause the children to be bound upon
the eagles, and to make little flights, until they form the habit.
And in this way habituate them until they soar aloft two hundred
ells.'

And Abestan my wife was very wise and did everything at 6
once which I told her. Then the king commanded me to depart
to Egypt. And when I reached the gate of Egypt, I brought 7
the children's cages, even as they were habituated. And I
bound them upon the eagles; they flew up and soared aloft, and
the children cried out and said: Clay, lime, mortar, brick. The
artisans stand idle. And I Khikar took a rod, and I went after 8
all whom I met and struck them blows (and said): Hurry up,
give what the artisans ask for. The king of Egypt came up and
was very astonished, and was glad and bade us make (the birds)
come down. And he said: Come, rest them from their labours.
Eat, drink and be merry. And on the morrow come to me.
And when it was dawn the king called me and said: What is 9
thy name? And I said: Abikam is my name. For I am a serf
of Seneqarim the king.

And when the king heard, he was grieved exceedingly, and
said: 'Have I seemed so contemptible in the eyes of Seneqarim
the king of Asorestan, that he has sent a serf unto me to give me
answer?' And he said to me: 'Go unto thy house and to-morrow
come to me.'

And when on the morrow I went, the king gave command to 10
his forces to dress themselves in scarlet *Chlamid*; and the king
himself was arrayed in purple raiment, and sat on his throne;
and his forces around him. He commanded and called me to

him and said: Abikam, unto whom am I like? Or my forces, whom are they like? I said, 'Thou art like to the *diq*[1] and thy satraps to his priests.' He said to me: Go to thy lodgings, and
11 to-morrow come unto me. When I had gone to my house and came the next day to him, he had arrayed his forces in linen, and he himself was arrayed in scarlet, and he said to me: Unto whom am I like, or my forces, to whom are they like? And I said: 'Thou art like the sun and thy satraps are like its
12 rays.' And again he said to me: Go to thy lodgings, and on
13 the morrow come to me. And when I went on the morrow, he commanded the satraps to array themselves in dyed raiment, and he himself arrayed himself in raiment of plumes, and sat
14 on his throne and said to me: To whom am I like? I said: 'Thou art like to the green grass[2] and thy satraps to the blossoms thereof.'

Then the king was glad and said: Tell me the truth. Sene-
15 qarim the king, to whom is he like? I said: God forbid that thou shouldst mention Seneqarim the king, since thou art sitting
16 down. But stand up, and I will tell thee. When he had risen up, I said: Seneqarim the king is like unto Bêlshim, and his satraps to the lightnings. When he willeth, he maketh the rain[3]; and he shooteth out the dew on high, he sendeth it forth in his empery. He thunders, and imprisons the rays of the sun. And when he willeth, he doth bring hail and grindeth to dust tree, green herb and dry; and the dawn breaketh and smiteth the shoots of green grass.

17 The king said: Tell me, what is thy name? I said: Khikar is
18 my name. He said: Wretch, hast thou come to life? And I
19 said: Since I have seen thy face, O king, I am alive. The king said: May this day be blessed, for I have seen Khikar with my own eyes alive.

[1] i.e. 'to God.' The plural *diq* literally='demons,' but is used like the Hebrew Elohim as a singular. The same use is found in the Arm. version of Eusebius' Chronicon Bk I. In the Arm. O. T. it is used as a plural.

[2] Venice MS='to the plain.'

[3] Bod.='the material of rain.'

And I fell on my face and did homage to him and kissed him. 20
The king said: Expound this saying.

There stands a pillar, and upon that pillar twelve cedars, and 21
upon them thirty wheels, and upon each wheel two couriers[1], the
one black and the other white. And I said: O king, this the
cowherds of the Asores know. The pillar of which thou spakest
is the year and the cedars are the twelve months. The thirty
wheels are the days of the months. The two couriers, the one
black and the other white, are dawn and nightfall[2].

The king said, What is this story, that from Egypt as far as 22
Nineveh there are 500 leagues—how did our mares hear the
neighing of your stallions and miscarry? I Khikar went out
from him, and I took a cat and scolded and tortured it. Then
they told the king, saying: Khikar flouts the *diq* and tortures the
cats. The king called me and said: Khikar, wherefore dost thou
flout our *diq* and torture the cats? And I said: Yon cat has 23
done harm enough to me. Aforetime the king gave to me
a cock; sweet of voice was it, and at each hour it awoke me, to
go to the king's palace. This very night (the cat) went off and
bit off the head of the cock and came back here. And the king 24
said to me as follows: It appears that as thou growest old, in the
same measure your words and wisdom are changed round. From
Egypt to Nineveh there are 500[3] leagues. How then in a single
night could a cat bite off the head of the cock and come back
hither? But I said: How could your mares hear the neighing
and miscarry.

The king said: Leave this. Come and weave me a rope of 25
sand. When I had gone out from him, the king said to all those
with him: Whatever Khikar says, ye shall say: 'We know and
have heard this thing.'

And I took and wrote a letter thus: From Seneqarim king, c. vii. 1

[1] The Arm. word has this meaning.

[2] After the explanation of the pillar MS Canon passes direct to the rope of sand incident, as does the Syriac.

[3] MS Canon has 360.

2 all hail to Pharaon king of Egypt. Brethren have need of brethren to behold them, and kings of kings. In this season expenses and debts enough have there been and silver is wanting in our treasuries. So then give orders and have brought to me
3 by dispatch a hundred talents of silver. And I fastened up the letter and went in to the king and said: In this dispatch I have written of a matter, of which neither your city[1] nor your satraps have heard. And they all said: We have heard and we know this matter of yours. But I said: If ye have heard, say then before ye have opened the letter. And they could not say, but opened and read it. I said: Ye have heard what is written. The
4 king said[2]: If thou weave not for me a rope of sand, thou shalt not carry away the tribute from Egypt. And I went into a deeply dug chamber, and perforated the wall of the chamber on the side whence the dawn shone; and when the dawn gleamed forth, it flashed into the chamber seven ells; and I took up dust of sand and cast it into the hole bored and blew into it. It appeared like woven twists, and I said: Give orders, O king, that they collect yon ropes and I will weave yet others.

5 When the king saw this he laughed and said: Blessed art thou before the *diq*. And he gave me very great presents, and allowed the tribute from Egypt, and well and gladly dismissed me, and I departed.

6 When the king Seneqarim heard of my coming, he went out to meet me with joy. When we had saluted each other, he took and led me into his palace and made me recline at the head of the couch; and made merry for several days, and bestowed on me very great presents, and said to me: O my father Khikar, ask of
7 me other very great presents and I will give them to thee. And I bowed to the earth to him and said: O King, live for ever.

[1] 92 adds 'nor your king.'

[2] Canon = and Pharaon said: Weave me a rope of sand, in length nine ells. And I said: My lord king, order them to bring forth from your treasury a model that I may see and according to the model make it, that it be not too thick or too thin. And Pharaon said: In my treasury is none. But unless thou weave it, thou carriest not off the silver, which by thy wisdom thou hast sought and I promised.

Whatsoever thou wouldst bestow on me, bestow on Abusmaq my comrade, who gave life to thy servant. But to me thou shalt give Nathan my sister's son whom I taught[1]. For he hath not well learned my former lore.

And the king gave Nathan my sister's son into my hands, 8
and I[a] bound him with a single chain of iron, which was of the weight of seven talents, at the door of my portico; and I entrusted him to Bêliar my servant. And I ordered him to scourge him on his back and belly. And I said to him in my 9
coming in and going forth: Whatsoever I speak in proverbs with him, do thou write on paper and keep it with thee; and I gave to him a little bread and a little water. I began to speak and said as follows.

1. Son, him that with his ears heareth not, they make to hear c. viii.
through his back. Nathan began to speak and said: Wherefore art thou angry with me, my father? I have[2] sinned against thee, my father Khikar. If thou wilt have mercy on me, thy servant, I will even become to thee dust and ashes and a servant all the days of my life.

And I said to him:

2. Son, on the throne of glory I seated thee, and from my throne thou didst hurl me to ruin.

3. Son, I in byssus and purples clad thee, and thou with earth wouldst have destroyed my body.

4. Son, I raised thee on high like a tower, so that if the

[a] For the text of MS Canon see below:

Then I took Nathan, and led him to my house; and bound (him to) my pillar of iron, of which the weight was seven hundred utres; and I placed a rope round his neck. And I smote a thousand blows (*lit.* trees) on his chest and a thousand on his back. And he was kept in the door of my portico. And I gave him bread by weight and water by measure; and entrusted him to Bêliar my servant, and I said to him: In my goings out and my comings in, whatever I say to Nathan write it in thy book.

[1] Canon = 'sister's son, that I may teach him another teaching.'

[2] Canon with Syriac omit the words 'I have—of my life.'

enemy should come to me, I might go forth and fortify myself in thee; and thou thyself hast been found to be the enemy in my house.

5. Son, I gave thee to glory and honour; and thou didst betray me into the hands of enmity and death.

6. Son, I nurtured[1] thee like the cub of the fox; and thine eye was on thine hole and my finger smooth was on thy mouth and thy fingers were sharpened upon my eyes.

7. Son, my righteousness and innocency saved and rescued me; and thy injustice prospered thee not.

8. Son, thou wast to me as a scorpion which struck the needle. The needle said[2]: Behold a sting which is worse than thine own. Again he struck the sole of the foot of the camel, and he set his foot hard upon that scorpion and crushed it and said: Captive, knewest thou not that thy breath and soul was under my feet?

9. Son, thou hast been to me like a goat which was eating madder. Says the madder: Why eatest thou me? Knowest thou not that with my root they dye thy skin[3]? Said the goat: I in my lifetime eat thee, after my death they pluck up thy root and prepare (*lit.* build) my skin.

10. Son, thou hast been to me like him that shot his arrow up to the heavens; and he was not able to reach thereunto, but reaped the reward of his lawlessness, and the arrow returned upon his head.

11. Son, thou hast been to me like the sower, who sowed ten bushels, and gathered five bushels, and the rest failed.

12. Son, thou hast been to me like the axe that was chopping a tree. Said the tree: Wert[4] thou not from me, thou

[1] I render *snoutzi* of MS Canon instead of *ousoutzi* = 'taught' of the other MSS. MS Canon has the rest of the saying thus: 'like the young of the eagle, and thy fingers were sharpened against my eyes. For thine eye was evil to look upon me.'

[2] I supply the words 'the needle said' from MS Canon. The other copies omit it through *homoioteleuton*.

[3] So MS Canon: the other MSS less well: 'with me they work thy skin.'

[4] MS Canon, better: 'Were not what is in thy hand from me, thou wert not

couldst not overcome me. Thus[1] didst thou imagine saying: I will fill his place. But if the pig's tail were about five ells long, it would not fill the place of the horse. And if its fleece were as purple, it could not be likened to the body of a king[2].

The maggot of the bread ate the body of a king, but was itself of no use to anyone nor profitable, but vile.

13. Son, thou hast been to me like the young of the swallow which fell out of its nest, and a weasel found it and said: If it had not been for me[3], then a great evil would have befallen thee. The nestling said to the weasel: Thy good which thou hast done to me shall return upon thine head.

14. Son, a dog which itself eats the quarry, will become the prey of wolves. An eye that gives me no light, the ravens dig it out. Hand which helps me not, from the shoulder let them lop it off.

15. Son, thou hast been to me like the lure which lay buried in the dung. A sparrow found it and said: What doest[4] thou? And it said: I am engaged in prayer unto God. Said the sparrow: And that which is in thy mouth, what is it? It said: A little loaf for the hungry. The sparrow darted in to take the bread and was caught by the neck and said: If this was a little loaf for the hungry, God even so heareth thy prayer.

16. Son, they said to the wolf: Keep away from the fold. It answered: If I live away, I am blinded; for the dust is a remedy for my eyes and benefits them.

17. Son, thou hast been to me as the wolf that encountered an ass, and said: Peace be unto thee. The young ass said:

able to overcome me.' In Arm. *katzi* = child: *katzin* = the child or an axe. The MS here reads the latter, and the scribe of MS Canon took the word in the sense of *child*. The scribe of the other MSS took it in the sense of *axe*.

[1] MS Canon, better: 'My son, thou didst imagine thus, saying: I fill the place of Khikar, but were the pig's tail nine ells long' etc.

[2] MS Canon like the Syriac adds here this saying: 'Son, I thus thought, that thou wouldst stay in my house and inherit my goods. But according to thy lawlessness, God hath not prospered thee.'

[3] Lit. 'if it had been apart from me.'

[4] So 69: the rest = 'What art thou?'

Peace to yonder master of mine, who hath loosed the cord of my feet and let me behold thy face evil and bloodthirsty[1].

18. Son, thou hast been to me like one who saw his fellow a-shivering. Taking water he threw it over him.

19. Son, thou hast been to me like the dog which went into the oven of the potter. When he was warm, he began to bark at the potter.

20. Son, they said to the cat, Give up thy habitual affair[2], and the privilege[2] is extended to thee to enter the palace and quit it. The cat said: If my eyes were gold and my paw of silver, I would yet not give up the habitual thing[3].

21. Son, thou hast been to me as a snake that wound itself round a bramble and fell into a river. A wolf saw it and said: Lo, the evil is mounted on the evil, and evil is that which drives them along.

22. Son, thou hast been to me as a mole which came out of its hole and one with another went forth because of their eyes not seeing. And an eagle swooped and seized him; and the mole said: If there had been no senses in my case, I should have remained in my place and lived a peaceful life.

23. Son, they gave teaching the wolf's cub, and said: Say thou, *ayb, ben, gim*[4]; and he said *ayts, bouts, garhn* (i.e. goat, kid, lamb).

24. Son, they took the swine to the bath, and he plunged into it, then rolled himself in the bog, saying: You wash in your own, and I will in mine.

Nathan began to speak and said: My father Khikar, men sin unto God, and He forgives them, when they say: I have sinned. Father, I have sinned unto thee. Forgive me, and I will be to thee a slave henceforth for ever[5].

[1] Canon omits 'evil and bloodthirsty.'

[2] Lit. 'word.'

[3] Canon here has 'habit,' *bars* for *ban*='word,' and this should probably be read all through.

[4] i.e. the first three letters of the Armenian alphabet.

[5] Canon adds: 'like one of the sinners.'

And I spake to Nathan thus:

25. Son, thou hast been to me like a palm-tree which was growing with roots on the bank of the river. When the fruit ripened, it fell into the river. The lord of the tree came to cut it down, and the tree said: Leave me in this place[1], that in the next year I may bear fruit. The lord of the tree said: Up to this day hast thou been to me useless, in the future thou wilt not become useful.

26. Son, God hath rescued me because of my innocence, but hath destroyed thee because of thy lawlessness. God passes judgement between me and thee. For the tail of the dog gives bread and his mouth a cudgel[2].

In the same hour Nathan swelled up and all his body burst asunder, and I said:

27. Son[a], he that doeth good, winneth good; and he that digs a pit for others, himself falls into the pit[3]. The good endeth in good and the evil in evil.

Here endeth Khikar[4].

[a] For the text of MS Canon see below:

Said Khikar: He that doeth well to the good will meet with good. And he who diggeth a pit for his fellow, with his own person filleth it. He who loves evil is hateful to many, and he who pursues the good inherits it.

[1] Canon='Leave me for this year.'

[2] Canon adds this precept about the dog after No. 16. It comes as the fourth in the first series of the Syriac.

[3] Canon: 'and he who digs a pit for his comrade fills it with his own person.' So the Syriac.

[4] The last three words in Codex Ven. alone.

F. C. C.

ARMENIAN VERSION

B. Recension from Bodley Arm. MS. g. 9.

(Words in round brackets are supplied to complete the sense. A note of interrogation after a word implies that the sense is doubtful.)

History and Conversation of Khikar the lover of wisdom, which all men should bear in mind and understand, because of its profit and advantage and of wisdom.

In the year of Senekarim the king of Assyria and Nineveh, I Khikar the scribe of Senekarim the king, acquired for myself male and female slaves, and many possessions. I built me sixty palaces, and I was not deficient in wealth. But seed I had not to inherit my wealth. And I remembered the day of my death, that all would make mock of me, and say that Khikar the scribe and sage is dead, and there was no son to bury him, nor daughter to bewail him. And having reflected, I went in before my gods, and I cast incense, and offered sacrifices, and many presents, and I prayed thus, saying:

O my lords, my gods, give unto me male seed, that I may not remain without an heir. But if ye shall give me seed, then although every day ten talents he shall distribute, yet he cannot exhaust my wealth.

Thereupon a voice came from the gods unto me and said: O Khikar scribe, it is not fated for thee (to have) seed; but that thou take Nathan thy sister's son, and rear him. And he shall be a son to thee and repay to thee thy bringing (of him) up.

And when I heard this from the gods, I took Nathan my sister's son; one year old was he, and I nourished him, and I clad him in byssus and purple; and (I bound) a gold necklace on his neck,

and like a king's son I decked him out with ornaments, and with my own hands I gave him to drink milk and honey, and I laid him to sleep [on the down] of[1] my eagles and doves, until he was seven years of age. And I began to teach him writing and wisdom, the returns of contradictory speeches, and interpretation of parables. By day and by night I ceased not to instruct Nathan.

And Senekarim the king saith unto me: O Khikar, my scribe, my soul is distressed on account of thee; for there is no one who after thy death can discharge the affairs of our kingdom. And I said: O my lord the king, there is my son, who is superior to me in cleverness and wisdom.

And the king said: Bring him unto me, that I may see whether he will be able to stand in my royal court, and you yourself be at rest for your life.

And I brought Nathan and stood him before the king. And the king said: This day be blessed among days; for Khikar during his lifetime has presented his son before me; and now do thou Khikar live in repose.

And I had sated Nathan with teaching as with bread and water; and in my teaching I thus spake:

Hear, my son, my words, and write thou my teaching in thy book; and forget not that the years of thy life shall be multiplied, and in glory and greatness (*or* wealth) thou shalt reach old age.

The instructions of Khikar, which he spake to Nathan his sister's son.

1. Son, if thou hearest anything in the court of the king, bury it, and make it to die in thy heart, and to no one divulge it.

2. Son, loosen not the knot which is sealed, and that which is loosed do thou not seal.

3. Son, raise not up thine eyes and look on a lovely woman, antimonied and painted; nor desire her in thy heart; for if thou shouldst squander[2] all thy riches on her, thou wilt get no more

[1] There seems to be a lacuna after sleep. We add "on the down of" or similarly.

[2] So in MS but Canon and 131 read "squander," which must be the correct reading: Cod. g. 9 has *ask*.

than thine own, only sin and shame from men, and condemnation from God.

4. Son, lower thine eyes, and soften the utterances of thy mouth, and look out under thine eyes; and thou wilt not appear to men quarrelsome and senseless, for if a house could be built by hallooing any jackass would build seven palaces in a day.

5. Son, if the oxen by sheer strength drew along, the yoke would not fail from the neck of the camel[1].

6. Son, it is better with the wise man to hew stones, than with a foolish man to drink wine.

7. Son, pour out thy wine on the earth, and drink it not with the lawless, lest thou be regarded even as they.

8. Son, be not sweet, lest they swallow thee down, nor bitter lest they spit thee out; but gentle and tranquil in the works of thy paths thou shalt be.

9. Son, while the boot is on thy foot, tread down the thorns, and make a path for thy sons.

10. Son, a rich man's son[2] hath eaten a serpent, they say that it is a medicine for him. A poor man's son[2] ate it, they said that he was hungry.

11. Son, eat thy portion in peace, and cast not thine eye on that of thy companion.

12. Son, with him that hateth thee speak softly, and thou wilt heap great judgment upon his head.

13. Son, the lawless man falleth by his evil deeds, but the just man is raised up because of his good deeds.

14. Son, spare not thy son chastisement and the rod: for as the dung is useful to the garden, and the tie to the packet, and the tether on the foot of the ass, so is the whip useful to the child.

15. Son, if thou chastise him calmly, he dieth not; but if thou

[1] This is a conflation of two texts in one of which a camel drew the plough, in the other oxen as in the Syriac. The meaning is that if the plough were not guided by a human hand, rather than by the brute force of the animal, the ploughing would never be over.

[2] A version of the Syriac idiom.

abandon him to his own will, he becomes a thief and a fool; and they take him to execution and to the fetters, and he becomes unto thee a reproach and breaking of heart.

16. Son, make thy child obedient, while he is small and pliant, lest he come into open conflict with thee; and thou be undone by his injury, and win the curses of strangers because of his disobedience.

17. Son, acquire for thyself a sturdy ass and a strong hoofed horse and an ox short in neck. But acquire not a runaway slave, or a handmaid petulant of tongue and given to dancing.

18. Son, a false man is fond of his neighbour to his face; but afterwards he is despised. But thou shalt be justified by thy works.

19. Son, false words are fatter than a quail; but he that is foolish gulps them down.

20. Son, love the father who begat thee, and despise not thy mother; and receive not the curses of thy father and mother, to the end that thou mayest rejoice in the blessings of thy son.

21. Son, speak not in wrath with thine adversary before the judges, lest thou receive punishment from the judge.

22. Son, by night go not forth upon the road without a weapon, for thou knowest not whether thine enemy goes forth to meet thee.

23. Son, as the tree is enjoyable for its fruit and branches, and the mountain wooded with the cedars, in the same way it is enjoyable to see a woman among her children, and brethren, and beloved kinsmen; but a man who has not a wife and sons and kinsmen and brethren, he is of small account, and a shadow; and despised is he by all; and is like unto a tree which is in the cross-ways, and all who pass by, pluck off her leaves and break down her branches.

24. Son, say not: My lord is unwise, but I am wise; but bear with him in his folly, and thou shalt be made wise.

25. Son, hold not thyself to be wise, whenever thou art testified to be so by many.

26. Son, when anyone else sends thee on some affair, add not nor take away from the message, lest thou become a laughing-stock and be contemned.

27. Son, in the multitude of thy children rejoice not, and in their deficiency be not distressed; for children and possessions are bestowed by God. The rich man is made poor, and the poor man is enriched.

28. Son, if thy neighbour have fallen sick, say not: What shall I send to him? But go and see him, for that is better than silver and many riches.

29. Son, in reward for evil speaking, receive not a bribe; for such a deed is evil before God.

30. Son, keep thy mouth from lying speech, and thine eyes from immodest glances.

31. Son, keep thy hand from stealing, and thy foot from evil paths; and it will be well for thee with God and man. For whether one steals gold, or some little thing, the punishment is one and the same.

32. Son, a gold ring that is not thine, put not on thy finger; nor clothe thee in byssus and purple robes, that are not thine, lest the onlookers make mock of thee.

33. Son, when distress is visited upon thee by God, blaspheme not; lest he be wroth, and destroy thee before thy time.

34. Son, take not a widowed woman to wife, for whenever there is any word between you, she will say: Alas for my first husband! And thou art distressed, and there will arise between you a mighty quarrel.

35. Son, eat not thy bread at another's table, that you may not incur an obligation from others.

36. Son, better is a bird in thy hand, than a thousand fluttering in the heavens.

37. Son, better is a fat kid in thy house, than an ox and a steer in the house of another.

38. Son, better is a man blind of his eyes, than one blind in his mind; for he that is blind quickly learns the coming and

going of the road. But he that is blind in mind, forsakes the straight road, and walks according to his will.

39. Son, a good name is better than a face which excites longing. For the face perishes and fails, but a good name endureth for ever. Better is a friend that is near, than a brother living afar off.

40. Son, better is hatred and a quarrel with a righteous man than sweetness and compassion at the hands of a lawless man.

41. Son, it is better for man to live upon snow and ice, than with a shameless woman, that cries out and is glib of tongue.

42. Son, better is one measure of a wise man's copper, than a hundred measures of a fool's silver.

43. Son, the garment of a wise man is praised in the market place, but the silver of a senseless one is hidden in darkness.

44. Son, if anyone be in durance vile, and thou canst aid him with a word, it is as if thou didst rescue him from the mouth of a lion.

45. Son, a slave who sins against his master, and proceeds into a strange land, let him find no rest nor any mercy of God.

46. Son, test thy son, to see if he be wise; and then thou shalt give thy possessions into his hands.

47. Son, from the house of invitation and from the wedding, withdraw quickly before thy neighbour, and return not again. Thus thou shalt anoint thy head with sweet oil.

48. Son, have no quarrel with one stronger than thyself.

49. Son, if the door-posts of thy house be lofty some nine (?)[1] ells, whenever thou enterest bow thy head. In order that subsequently thou mayest not have cause to repent.

50. Son, take not with a big weight, and give with a little one, and then say: I have made a profit. For such an action is iniquitous and evil in the sight of God; and God will be angry with thee, and will give into the hands of others what thou hast.

[1] Through loss of a leaf precepts 48–55 are lacking in Bodl. g. 9, and are supplied from Bodl. Canon 131.

51. Son, swear not falsely, that of thy days there be no fail, and thou perish not.

52. Son, if thou wouldest ask anything of God, transgress not his will.

53. Son, whatsoever thou wouldst that men should do unto thee, do thyself unto all; in order that thou mayest win good from God, and that thy years may be many[1].

54. Son, whenever thou art among many, beware of revealing thy poverty; for they will not listen to thy words, and thou art despised by them.

55. Son, love thy wife, for she is thy flesh, and the companion of thy life, and she worketh hard nurturing thy children.

56. Son, with the wife of a stranger hold no intercourse; for such an action is fraught with death, and is evil before God and man.

57. Son, love thy brother like thyself, and teach thy son to bear hunger and thirst; so that he may behave in accordance with thine own habits, and may be able to endure it, when there is no food to be found.

58. Son, if thy master send thee to bring to him a manured (?) grape, bring not the grape to him; for he eats the grape, but lets thee not off the punishment of the manure (?).

59. Son, if a man's actions be not upright, and if he bear not a good name, it is better for him to die than to live.

60. Son, better is poverty with repose, than riches with phrensy (?).

61. Son, say not an evil thing to thy friend; but rejoice in his presence, that he may be continually glad.

62. Son, condescend with thy wife; but reveal not to her thy secrets: for she cannot keep a word in her heart, but reveals it to her neighbours; for she is stunted in mind and small of spirit, and is unable to endure.

[1] The MS has *ambq qo zatanay* "that thy clouds may be separated." I correct to *amq qo shatanay* and render accordingly.

63. Son, receive not what thou hast not deposited, and that which is not thine, bestow not upon others.

64. Son, ponder a word in thy heart and then utter it. For if subsequently thou changest the word, thou becomest a laughing-stock.

65. Son, utter not an empty word in thy mouth; for better is a sin in the flesh, than sin with the tongue.

66. Son, if thou hearest an evil word about anyone, hide it in thy heart, so that no one may hear the mischief from thy mouth.

67. Son, plunge not into the midst of a quarrel, lest thou be buffeted and punished, and lest thou die for nothing; but flee and keep afar therefrom.

68. Son, do thou not scoff frivolously, for from scoffing a quarrel arises, and from the quarrel slaying.

69. Son, if thou wilt be wise, keep thy mouth from babbling, and look out under thine eyes: and thou shalt become wise among thy fellows.

70. Son, a man who spends his time justly and righteously, his days shall not be shortened.

71. Son, even though thou be poor, on the day of offerings, hold not aloof from God.

72. Son, I have eaten chickweed, and I have drunk fetid water, and it was not more bitter than exile in a strange land.

73. Son, on the day of thy sacrifice, be liberal of thy hand and stint not in thy heart. For God is not pleased, and thou art held of no account by men.

74. Son, quit not the mourning scene, but quit the wedding and repair to the mourning scene; for death lies ahead of us all.

75. Son, mount not on a horse that is not thine, and even if thou art very hungry, eat not bread that is not thine.

76. Son, reveal thy secrets before thy friend, and after some days, provoke him. If he does not reveal the secret thou didst tell him, let him be thy friend. For he has been found true to thee.

77. Son, it is better if they steal all thy goods, than that they should detect theft in thee.

78. Son, rejoice not in the death of thy enemies, for death impends before thee also.

79. Son, when anyone asks for goods of thee, prevent him not, even if thou canst. For thou wilt receive from God a hundredfold for one.

80. Son, whenever thou beholdest an aged man, do thou rise and stand up before him and magnify him; and when thou growest old, others will do the same to thee.

81. Son, only when the rivers pause in their flow, or the sun in his course, or gall becomes sweet as honey, or the raven becomes white as the dove, will the fool abandon his folly and the senseless man his path.

82. Son, go not too often on foot to thy friend's house, lest he be surfeited and loathe thee.

83. Son, a dog that leaves his master and follows after thee, drive him away with stones.

84. Son, an ill word is witness of falsehood, and he who is not afraid of sin, shall become a coal of fire.

85. Son, do thou fear God and let none see evil deeds of thine, in order that they may not learn of thee.

86. Son, acquire not riches by injustice, lest all thy possessions be destroyed.

87. Son, flee from a bad man, and with a wise man be thy path.

88. Son, avarice is mother of sin and parent of evil; but pity and truth are dispensers of good.

89. Son, ruin of the soul and an evil memory are due to avarice; and they that love riches hate their friends, and all misers are estranged from good works.

90. Son, sow not a judgment of injustice; although thou mayest overcome thy opponent, yet be in fear of God's judgment.

91. Son, array thee not in the armour of evil[1] lest thou be handed over to evil hangmen.

[1] Of the evil one: Bod. and Canon 131.

92. Son, be attentive to God's commands, and fear not evil, for the command of God is a man's rampart.

93. Son, listen not to evil-speaking about anyone, for it is a two-edged sword, and wounds the ears of the listener.

94. Son, of him that loves peace the heart is continually full of joy and gladness, and at all times he is praised in the market place.

95. Son, continually practise thy tongue in goodly conversation, and among thy companions thou wilt seem to be delightful; for an evil word quickly penetrates the ears of men.

96. Son, expel from thy heart all enmity and rivalry; for it is an evil seed, and begetteth evil.

97. Son, he that is glad in heart is a sun luminous: and he that is narrow and malicious in spirit is a lowering darkness.

98. Son, he that is generous in heart is full of goodness, but he that is crafty is void of all blessings.

99. Son, he that has much wealth and is avaricious, such a one, even if he liveth, is dead.

100. Son, he that ridicules the poor man, makes God angry; and will himself quickly descend to poverty.

101. Son, let thy words be true and just and not ambiguous; for from falsehood is engendered much evil; but from truth, honour and credit at all times.

102. Son, from an unjust and lawless man flee away, for they have betrayed themselves to ruin and destruction.

103. Son, if thou wouldest make wealth, boast not before men. For if thou failest, thou wilt become the mockery of many.

104. Son, a reliable word is better than gifts, and an unreliable word is continually tripping in all things.

105. Son, avoid being a guarantor, for thou wilt suffer much anguish therefrom, and must discharge the debt.

106. Son, love not strife, for it is death of deaths; and never go to law, for in opposed words many a snare lurks.

107. Son, soft words are as water which extinguishes a hot coal, even so they extinguish the savage hearts of men.

108. Son, give advice to all men, to the end that thou mayest be called wise and discreet.

109. Son, help the fallen and weak and feeble, so far forth as thou art able, for such conduct rewards thee with God.

110. Son, overweening men are far from friendship and from deep affection; and they bring reproaches upon themselves, and detach themselves from their neighbours.

111. Son, swinish and greedy men will break off from their true friends.

112. Son, before all things fear thy tongue as a stranger; for thou dost not know how soon it will bring evil upon thee.

113. Son, the tongue of a senseless and drunken man is as the hollow[1] of a needle. Another it cannot strike, but ever bruises its own head.

114. Son, better for thee is enmity with a wise man, than the affection of a man senseless and brazen.

115. Son, a man that is senseless, better is he to thee as an enemy than as a friend, so from thy secrets hold him aloof.

116. Son, send not as thy envoy a witless man and a drunkard, nor as thy intercessor; for he is not willing to effect thy good, but will bring many evils upon thee.

117. Son, if thou give advice to the witless, it is as if men sprinkled dust on a swollen river.

118. Son, if a man be a babbler and a braggart, encourage him not to visit thy house, for fear that thou too be made ashamed of thyself through his actions.

119. Son, if thou enjoy wealth all thy life in the world, forget not the day of thy death, but continually bear it in mind.

120. Son, gaze long[2] into the tombs of thy neighbours, and remember thy own death, and shed a tear.

121. Son, when thou seest thy comrade dead, pass not by him; but run and mourn for him yourself. For the same day is imminent and prepared for thee.

[1] *Or* palate.

[2] *Lit.* gazing gaze.

122. Son, God made wine for rejoicing, but in sundry places it is better to drink muck than wine.

123. Son, wine sometimes raises men to glory, and sometimes fills them with shame, and turns them to ridicule.

124. Son, it is better to have a quarrel with a man that is a clown, than with a senseless and shameless woman.

125. Son, when thy wife says, I will strangle myself at your hands, do thou look out for thyself; for she intends to strangle thee.

126. Son, a senseless fellow when he goes into the presence of kings, in his duplicity seeks excuses, and all the more enrages the hearts of kings and excites mischief against himself.

127. Son, a man of evil designs and envious, not only designs evil to those whom he hates, but his nature is opposed to all.

128. Son, an ill-disposed and impious man, when he beholds the agitation of his neighbour, delights and is glad. He thinks in his heart that it adds some lustre to himself.

129. Son, when thy master's eye is amiable, fear him, for thou art thy own intercessor; and let it not be that thou make him angry with yourself, for thou wilt blame and find fault with thyself.

130. Son, whenever you see yourself to be glorious and mighty in the eyes of kings, even though your enemies are many, all will second you in your testimony, as if you were their trusty friend.

131. Son, when you are despised in the eyes of kings, all your friends will become haters of yourself, and your friends will hold aloof.

132. Son, say not to the poor man, You can never do me harm. For from the most abject of men proceed many harms, and not from those who are held in honour.

133. Son, it is better if one of your friend's dogs should cling to you, than that one who hates you should howl against you[1].

[1] Or we could render: "it is better if a harlot among your friends." But in any case some error lurks in the text, which must have run somehow as follows: "it is better if your friend's dog should bite you...."

134. Son, a servant who is double-minded towards his master, even though he be fond of you, yet never confide in him: for a servant who forgets his master, brings you no good, but only evil.

135. Son, a woman who flouts her husband and says to you: You are more fair than my husband, and are pleasing in my eyes, be on your guard against her in your thoughts. For such a woman resembles a slut of a dog; for she follows every man. Moreover she resembles a deadly drug concealed in delicious meats.

136. Son, for a crafty man God exists not: and for a chatterer peace exists not: on earth also no rest.

137. Son, an overweening fellow will lack his livelihood.

138. Son, exchange not a work of God for this world's life and desires. The godhead was able to become a participant in the nature of the world's life.

139. Son, the desire of this world in the eyes of all who see resembles the lion who was born by night, and they reared him in the dark. He beheld the sun's effulgence, and reckoned all his life to have been in hell.

140. Son, a wise man, so far forth as he is renowned, accepts the worlds greatness, and pursues the work of God. And, praised of all saints, he resembles the sun above: for the more he is uplifted, the more doth his effulgence increase.

141. Son, an idler and arrogant man, in proportion as he is renowned, and accepts the world's riches (*or* greatness), is detested of saints and an enemy of the church. He resembles a cloud which is lowering and murky. Whenever it gathers strength it sweeps on and works havoc to the land, and plucks up the crops by the root and the green herbs with its hail.

142. Son, a good king raises up the world, but a bad and abominable king, even though he enjoys his kingdom in his lifetime, yet brings upon the world much commotion and many evils, and of his own accord weaves destruction for himself.

143. Son, a man who is greedy and slothful(?) in war, resembles a bird that is gorged on carrion, for he is heavy, and his

wings are relaxed; and is easily caught by the fowlers and destroyed. Even so a man that is slothful (?) and drunken, is exhausted of intelligence, and is easily taken in a snare.

144. Son, a witless man imagines in his mind that, when he enters into the tribulation (?) of kings, he will be increased in his glory; but he does not understand that death easily overtakes him.

145. Son, do not inflame your heart with the surly words of your comrade, until you have done something and tested him to see whether he be good or bad. For one who is by nature deceitful, because you may entrust all your property to him, will not give up his disposition.

146. Son, be not double-tongued among your companions. For you imagine you are loved of all, but do not realise that, whenever your actions reveal your true character, you will be put to shame and become a laughing-stock, and it will be bitterer for you than death.

147. Son, plan not evil against your comrade, lest you be evilly destroyed.

148. Son, as the mountains are storehouses of ice and frost, so the hearts of deceivers are a habitation of evil things.

149. Son, an impious man frequents the crossways, and gets ready his armour for shedding of blood, and robbing the poor of their belongings. Yet he shall give of his own blood, for the roads to taste it.

150. Son, a strumpet resembles a tomb whitewashed and neat (?), but underneath it is full of stench and of dead bones. Again, she is like a fair tree which should bear bitter fruit; and when you survey the beauty of the tree, you taste the bitterness of the fruit, and in sorrow turn away your countenance therefrom.

151. Son when you gaze on the beauty of women, your eyes cause you to stumble, but your heart will suffer in proportion (?), in order that the onset (?) of the evil one and the snares of death may pass away from you.

152. Son, covet not another's wife, to fulfil thy desire; for

she is like brine, since the more you drink, the more your thirst increases; and the wickedness is multiplied, and weighs you down like a heavy burden.

153. Son, 'tis not every man inherits the name of man, but only he that is wise. For, as a blind man misses light and warmth, and as the sun is from its rays conceived as lightgiving, and the lion from its valour and strength is called mighty, and the falcon is praised for the swiftness of its wings; so a wise man is magnified and honoured by kings, and in their gates is as gold and precious stones.

154. Son, men's desire and women's beauty to the eyesight are deceitful and work a snare for the soul.

155. Son, the tongue of a wise notary from his tablets discourses peace; and the mind of a treacherous man is like the forge (?) of a smith flaming up with fire of the blazing embers. So also the crafty one speaketh craft.

156. Son, treachery wears a double aspect: if you see the crafty man about to assassinate his master, and do not reveal it to him, you are guilty of his death.

157. Son, God is not friendly to a man of swinish mind, nor to a crafty man either.

158. Son, a man of swinish mind and disdainful imagines that he glorifies his name and by means of empty words strengthens his professions; but he is slow to fulfil them and is blamed for his duplicity, and is with opprobrium exposed in the market place.

159. Son, promise not to your neighbour what you can not fulfil; lest his affection turn into hatred.

160. Son, a man witless and drunken repeatedly receives homage from men by reason of his false utterances; but what he says he fulfils not. He resembles a leather bottle blown out and full of air, but empty of potables; and he shows himself by fulness, but when they open his mouth, there is found no joy in him.

161. Son, a swinish fellow imagines that his life cannot pass away, and that his wealth fails not. But this he knows not, that

others will snatch the multitude of his goods, nor remember his name for good.

162. Son, when you proceed to war, go not with one who is a coward, for fetters (?) are on the feet of your charger, to wit a coward (?); and he makes your valour of no effect. And he immediately rolls on the ground and inflames the valour of your adversary. But in the strife of battle be companion of a brave-hearted man; that, when he triumphs over his enemy, you along with him be praised and glorified by the princes; while if you be conquered by the foe, by very reason of your bravery he shall lift you up again.

163. Son, the fool, though he be glorified in presence of kings, cannot conceal his disposition.

164. Son, a swinish fellow, though he has great wealth, pinches his own heart, and passes his life away in bitterness.

165. Son, one who is blithe and generous, is beloved of men, and is added to in his life, and is opposed to the swinish.

166. Son, if you desire to be called wise by men, and are honoured by God and by kings, first do you contemn the desire of the world, nor indulge in drunkenness. For in many ways it causes the children to stumble and they are prone to take to evil courses, and to forsake the truth, and are despised in their many utterances, and reveal the secrets of princes, and babble out of vain-glory. They forsake good works and are emptied of wisdom, nor do they judge fairly the causes of widows and orphans. They drive themselves unto death and are not able to be wary, but expose themselves naked before kings and before their enemies, and are put to shame by all.

167. Son, when you encounter a shameless woman, a fire is brought nigh unto your flanks, and a deadly serpent to your storehouse, and a wild beast of the thicket to your pacts, and a foe armed with sword to your host.

168. Son, a strumpet imagines saying: Of myself I hide my deeds. She is like unto a dead dog. Because of her horrible rottenness she cannot conceal her stench.

169. Son, a fool, when he is drunk, is all agog for war. He imagines himself to be conspicuous among men of valour and nobility. And he realises not that if he meets a brave-hearted man and doughty, the latter will with a touch of his hand fling him down senseless, and destroy his name upon earth.

170. Son, a fool boasts before the battle, and praises himself; but in the time of battle he maketh himself a reproach before all.

171. Son, an ignorant king and ruler contemns the wise man and flouts his wisdom; and elevates the wanting in wit and the worthless. He is like unto the irrational and witless beasts of the field.

172. Son, when you are drunk, keep your mouth shut and talk not; for your temper is not under your control (*or* your nature is not in your hand).

173. Son, as earth is mother of all plants and shrubs, so is drunkenness mother of all evils.

174. Son, if you rule the world and are lord of all men, keep yourself from drunkenness; that you lose not all concern for things of heaven or of earth.

175. Son, a sovereign that loves good is victorious and renowned in war and battle, and by his valour smites down his foes.

176. Son, an irreverent and impious man, though he possesses arms and cuirass, yet is exposed naked before his foes.

177. Son, if to understand be wisdom, yet 'tis to be carried out. For if a man understands, yet performeth not, he is void of wit.

178. Son, an adulteress not merely defiles herself, but also her husband and the foundations of her home.

179. Son, I have beheld a wild beast of might, and he rushed not on me; I met an enemy who rushed, but I was not overcome by him. I encountered a strumpet and senseless woman, and I was overcome by her.

180. Son, be not without scholarship, for to read and learn and sign his name improves the wise and talented man.

181. Son, flee from drunkenness; and from authority, and from over-weeningness, hold aloof as from a mad dog. For drunkenness destroys the nature of the judgment, and arrogance ravages all humanity, and becomes inhuman and useless.

182. Son, with an ill-instructed man discourse not at all. With one who lacks judgment, drink not. Associate not with a witless fellow, make not an ignorant one your steward, for he will plunder your household.

183. Son, have no fear of anyone who stands in fear of God. Honour the guileless man, but look not unto the crafty.

184. Son, invite not the actor into thy house. Go not unseasonably to war. Return not evil for evil. Slumber not too long of a night.

185. Son, talk with the poor man as with kings; be not eager among those who have too much (?); converse not with an uncultivated man.

186. Son, keep yourself in humility always. For humility is mother of peace and habitation of whole health, and he that practises it is praised by God and by men. And he who fulfils these precepts, shall become wise and glorious among men.

End of the precepts and parables, which Khikar addressed to Nathan, his sister's son, and it was all for nought.

All this I taught to Nathan my sister's son, thus thinking that what I taught he kept in his heart and would live at the royal gate. And I knew not that he scorned my words and scattered them like dust before the wind. Straightway he began to waste my chattels and my possessions. He spared not my slaves and maidservants, nor even my favourites and my friends, but he bound and ill-treated them; with violent blows he wounded and destroyed my steeds continually.

When I saw that Nathan played false to my interests, then I withdrew from him my chattels lest he should ruin them. And I said to Nathan: Come not near to my chattels, for it is said by the wise, that hands that have not been hard-worked, the eye shall not spare. And I went and told my lord Senekarim. And

the king gave orders to Nathan and said: As long as thy father Khikar is alive, go not near his possessions; but remain in the royal gate, and let thy father Khikar remain in his gate, and rest in his old age.

When I, Khikar, saw all this that Nathan did, I said in my heart: Alas, how hath Nathan despised my sweet advice and set at nought and utterly despised all my wisdom.

Then Nathan went to the house of the king, and planned very great evils for me. For he wrote two letters. One he sent to Pharaoh king of Egypt, for he was an enemy of my lord Senekarim, and it was written as follows:

I Khikar, notary of Senekarim king of Asorestan and of Nineveh, to Pharaoh king of Egypt, do write. Be it in thy cognizance, when this dispatch reaches thee, at once shalt thou muster thy forces and come to the Plain of the Eagles on the 15th[1] day of the month Hrotitz, and I will take and make thee king over these without trouble.

And again a letter which had this tenor:

From Senekarim king, health to Khikar, notary of my tribunal. When this dispatch shall reach thee, thou shalt prepare my forces which are subject to thee; exactly on the 15th day of the month Hrotitz, thou shalt come to meet me on the Plain of Eagles. And when thou comest near draw them up face to face against my forces, as if they were being prepared against thine enemies. For the envoys of Pharaoh are come unto me to see our forces and tremble.

And this letter Nathan sent to me as if by the command of the king. But he himself, Nathan, stood before the king and said: O king, live for ever. I have eaten bread and salt in thy house, and God forbid that I should deceive my king.

For my father Khikar, whom thou didst send unto rest, unto honour, unto glory, hath not done according to the command of thy kingship, but hath played false to God and thy kingship.

And he had given the letter to certain trusty men of the king.

[1] "25th" in Canon 131.

and they gave it to the sovereign, and the sovereign gave it to Nathan and said: Read.

And Nathan read it before the king, and the king was sorely troubled, and asked those who gave him the letter: Who gave this letter into your hands? And as Nathan had charged them, they answered with one mind, saying: Travellers that were going into Egypt. They had the letter on them, and we thy servants found them and took them by force. And when he asked them: Whence are ye? They answered: We are native slaves of Khikar. And the king was troubled and said to the trusty men: What harm then have I done to Khikar, that he has devised such a snare for me? Wherefore hath he returned evil for good? Nathan replied and said: Be not troubled, O mighty king. But let us go to the Plain of the Eagles, as is written in the dispatch; and let us see if it is so, and then let thy behests be carried out.

And Nathan took the king, and went to the Plain of the Eagles. But I, Khikar, when I heard of the setting out of the king, had prepared my forces and arrayed them over against him, according as it had been written in the dispatch at the behest of the king.

When the king saw my forces he was sorely troubled. And Nathan said: Be not troubled, O my king: for I will bring Khikar my father into thy presence.

The king said: If thou shouldst bring Khikar before me, mighty presents will I give thee, and all the royal affairs shall be transacted by thee; for thou hast been found a trusty servant before me. And the king went back into his palace.

And Nathan came to me and said: My father Khikar, very honourable and pleasing hath seemed unto the king this preparing of thy cavalry in array. Therefore hath he sent me to thee, to say: All thou hast done, thou hast done well and wisely. So then give orders to thy forces to go to yonder place, and do thou come, and let us make merry together. And I Khikar went forth, and came before the king as if to perform his behests, and as if

I was now worthy of honour; but I knew not of the penalty, for I was innocent.

And the king said to me: Thou Khikar, chief notary and sage, I set thee up as a ruler over my household of Nineveh and Assyria, and I made thee my counsellor, and thou hast betrayed me into the hands of my oppressors.

And he gave me the letter, which Nathan had written, and in it was imitated my handwriting and seal. But when I read it, my limbs were dissolved, and my tongue was shrivelled up as parchment. I sought for a word of wisdom to give answer and found it not. My soul was filled with misgivings, and I became as one of those distraught. I was silent, and paused.

Then said Nathan to me: Get thee out of the king's presence, decrepit one with thy gray hairs. Yield up thyself, thy hands for the fetters and for the halter, and thy feet for the iron. The king addressed Abusmak my comrade and said: Take Khikar and slay him, and remove his head afar from him, 100 ells. And I fell on my face, and kissed the earth before the king, and said: My lord the king, thou hast willed me to slaying, but I am conscious of having sinned in nothing against my king. So then command that they shall slay me in my own house, and carry my body unto burial.

And the king proceeded to give command to do so. But I sent to Arphestan my wife, and said: Send to meet me a thousand maidens, and let them be clad in mourning, and be lamenting me; in order that I may witness my mourning with my own eyes, while I am still alive. And thou shalt make bread, and prepare a table, adorned with all good things, for Abusmak and the Parthians that are with me. These thou shalt go out to meet, and shalt lead them into the house.

And Arphestan my wife immediately did what I had commanded, and they set out to my house. And Abusmak and the Parthians lay down, and my wife set the table before them and waited on them. And I went in with them to eat bread, but they were fuddled with wine.

And I said to Abusmak my comrade: Look up to heaven and discern God with thine eyes, and remember the love of our brotherhood. And sin not against my blood, for thou knowest that I am innocent. But remember also this, that the Sire of Senekarim gave thee into my hands for slaying; and I wronged thee not, for I knew that thou wast innocent. And I kept thee until the king made a request; and then I led thee before him and the king gave me mighty gifts. This do thou likewise, and slay me not; there is my slave whose name is Sêniphar and very like unto me is he. And he is in prison, because he is under sentence of death. So then lead me into prison; but dress him up in my garments and cast him to the Parthians, for them to slay him; and so thou wilt fulfil the king's command.

And when I said this, Abusmak had pity on me, and did my will and what I told him. But the soldiers, fuddled with drink, woke up at midnight, and slew Sêniphar my slave. Then Abusmak my comrade and Arphestan my wife made me a house dug out underground, its height 3 ells, and its length 7 ells, equal to the doorposts of my house. And they placed beside me bread and water; and then Abusmak went off to the king, and told him saying: Khikar is slain. Then the king called Nathan and said to him; Go make lamentation for thy father Khikar.

And Nathan went off to the house of Khikar, but with him there was no concern for mourning. And he collected all his favourites to drink wine and make great good cheer, instead of mourning as the king commanded. Using force to the favourites of Khikar, he tortured them, and had no respect for Arphestan, the wife of Khikar, nay was rather minded to fornicate with her.

And I Khikar could hear the voice of my stewards whom Nathan was torturing and ill-treating. And I was tortured in the darkness. And my soul was longing for bread and a morsel of meat. And when Pharaoh heard that Khikar was slain, he was very glad, and wrote a letter to the king Senekarim, containing riddles. And the king called Nathan and said: Write an answer to this letter. (But Nathan said: Difficult is the matter. Who

is able to give an answer thereto?)[1] And the king was distressed and said: Alas for Khikar my secretary and wise man.

But when Pharaoh learned that they could not give an answer to his writing he sent a puissant army and they took tribute from Senekarim. And as long as Khikar languished in the prison the burden of Pharaoh was multiplied on Asorestan and Nineveh. Those who were under the hand of Senekarim were also much impoverished, and all the land laid waste, and the chambers of the royal treasury were empty.

And the king in his trouble said: Alas for Khikar, my secretary and wise man. He who should give thee to me alive, many possessions would I give him, even to the half of my kingdom. But Abusmak revealed the secret not to the king, in order that he might be hard pressed and know the value to him of Khikar.

And Pharaoh sent a dispatch to king Senekarim, which had this tenor:

From Pharaoh to Senekarim health. I desire to build a palace half way between heaven and earth. Look thou at once, and send a wise and clever man to do my will. But if thou shouldst neglect my behest, then I will arise, and come with a great army, and take away thy kingdom.

When King Senekarim heard this, he summoned all his satraps and his magnates, and Nathan read the letter of Pharaoh the king. And they were perplexed and said: To such a problem Khikar could give answer; and now Nathan, who is in his place, will give answer to this difficult problem.

But when Nathan heard this he cried aloud and said: O King, live for ever. Such a matter as this the gods could not make answer to. Surely then not men?

When the king heard this he was very troubled. He rose from his throne and sat on sackcloth, struck his person and said: Alas for Khikar, able notary and wise. On the words of a lying

[1] The words in brackets are omitted in Bodl. g. 9. I supply them from Canon 137.

man I slew thee. Yet there is none like thee, and there is no successor to thee in the royal gate. If anyone gave thee to me, I would weigh him against gold and buy thee. When Abusmak learned the deep distress of the king, he said: My lord king, he that despises the behests of his lord, and fulfils them not, is guilty of death. Now then this word of mine is fulfilled in me. For I have not fulfilled the behests of my king. Thou didst order me to slay Khikar, and yet he is still alive.

And the king said: Speak, speak, my servant, well-doing and trusty. For thou hast not sinned; but thou hast obtained many good things. If thou showest me Khikar, I will give thee royal purples and 100,000 talents of gold.

And Abusmak came, and lifted me out of the pit of darkness, and led me before the king. And I fell down and kissed the earth before him, but the hair of my head was matted and also my beard.

Then with a great voice the king cried out: Blessed am I, and blessed is this day, for I have seen Khikar alive. And he sent me to the bath for them to wash and anoint me with fragrant oil. And they did so, and brought raiment of great price and clad me in it. And then the king brought and set me close to him. And all his promises to Abusmak he amply fulfilled.

Then the king brought the letter of Pharaoh and gave it to me, and said: Read and give an answer to this letter.

But I took and read it, and said to the king: Send yon envoys to return to their place. And I later on will set out, and fulfil the behests of Pharaoh.

And when they were gone, I Khikar, the secretary, sent and brought two eaglets, and I brought two clever children, and taught them to feed the eaglets with raw meat. And when their wings were firm set and strong, and they came and went in their soaring, then I fixed to them a box of wood, leaving the top side open. And they placed the children in it, and I trained the eaglets so that they should soar up into the air, and thus I taught them many days. And there was in the hands of each of the

children a mouthful of meat, and if they lifted up the flesh, the birds rose and made after it, while if they lowered it, the birds followed also. And I took them, and went to Egypt, and presented myself before Pharaoh, and kissed the ground before him. And Pharaoh honoured me greatly, and made me sit down at his side, and asked: Where are the craftsmen who are going to build the temple? And I answered: On the road; they were at work and are now asleep.

And at dawn Pharaoh went forth and called me, and said: Here above the city I would like to have it built, in order that I may look over the city, and rejoice. And I said: O King, live for ever. Give wages to the artists, for them to come and build.

Said Pharaoh: I swear by my head, that whenever I see thy artists mount up in the air to build the palace, I will give thee much gold and silver.

So I went away and got things ready, and let the birds fly: and they took their way, and rose and went up into the air, even as they had been taught to do by me; and the children cried: Bring up lime and mortar; the artists are idle.

But Pharaoh honoured me greatly, and gave me fine raiment, and adorned me, as well as the artists. And he said: Take the craftsmen to thy lodgings, but do thou come to me, for me to ask thee some things. So I went to my lodgings, ate and drank and was glad. Then I went to Pharaoh, and he said to me: Why, when thy steeds neighed in Assyria, did our mares hear it and miscarry?

But I Khikar went out from him, and ordered a cat to be brought, which I bound and ill-treated. And when all the people of the city heard of it, they went and informed Pharaoh, saying: Khikar is insulting our gods. For he has taken a cat and tortured it before our eyes.

And the king called me and said: Wherefore dost thou insult our gods? But I answered: I have had done to me so much hurt by thy cat. For Senekarim the king had given me a cock which was wont to wake me up with its crowing in time to go to the

palace. This night the cat went to Assyria, strangled my cock, and came back here.

Pharaoh answered: O Khikar, thus can I see how old thou art grown, and how thy wisdom has lost its savour. From Egypt to Assyria is 360 leagues, and how could your cat go there in this one night, strangle your cock and return here.

But I replied to Pharaoh: If you know that it is so far from Egypt to Assyria, then how did your mares hear the neighing of our steeds and miscarry?

When the king heard this, he was much troubled and said: Come and guess what I will ask of thee. There was a pillar, and on the pillar twelve cedars, and on each cedar there were thirty wheels and on each wheel two estafets, one black and one white.

I answered: The pillar you mention is the year, and the cedars are the twelve months of the year; the thirty wheels are the thirty days of the month, and the two estafets are day and night.

King Pharaoh said: Weave me a rope of sand, nine ells in length and one palm[1] in thickness.

But I said: My lord king, order them to bring a model out of thy treasury, in order that I may see it, and make my rope on its pattern, lest it be a shadow or too fine spun. And Pharaoh said: In my treasury, there is no such model; but unless you weave it, you shall not carry away the silver which you sought by means of your wisdom, and which I promised to give.

Then I thought deeply, and at the back of the house I pierced the wall where the morning sun shone; and when the dawn gleamed through, I mixed dust with sand, and threw it in the entrance of the light, and a beam of light appeared like spindles. And I said: My lord king, bid them gather up this for me to weave it. When the king beheld it, he laughed and said: This day be blessed among days, for I have seen Khikar alive before the gods, and have beheld the wisdom of his mind and have been glorified.

Again he honoured me, and made me sit at the head of the

[1] *long* in Arm.

table, and bestowed great presents upon me, and gave me the bullion which I had asked for, and sent me on my way in peace. But I came back and reached my lord Senekarim, who came forth to meet me, and welcomed me with great joy, and said to me: Ask of me whatever thou wilt and I will give it thee. But I kissed the ground before the king and said: Whatever thou wouldest give me, give to Abusmak my companion, and giver of my life. But give me Nathan, my sister's son, in order that I may teach him new lore, for he has forgotten the old.

And the king ordered Nathan to be given into my hands, and said to me: Go and do whatever thou wilt, for the labourer is worthy of his hire.

Then I took Nathan, and led him to my house; and bound him to my pillar of iron, of which the weight was 700 utres; and I placed a rope around his neck. And I gave him a thousand blows with a club on his chest, and a thousand on his back. And he was kept in the door of my portico. And I gave him bread by weight and water by measure: and entrusted him to Bêliar my servant, and I said to him: In my goings out and my comings in, whatever I say to Nathan write in thy book.

Further precepts of Khikar, which he addressed to his sister's son Nathan.

1. Son Nathan, him that with his ears hears not, they make to hear through his back and flanks.

Said Nathan: Wherefore art thou angry with thy sister's son? But I said to him:

2. Son, on the throne of glory I seated thee, but from my throne thou didst hurl me down.

3. Son, thou hast been to me as a scorpion which struck the needle. The needle said: Behold a sting which is worse than thine own. Again thou didst strike the sole of the foot of the camel, and he set his foot hard upon that scorpion and crushed it, saying: Caitiff, knewest thou not that thy power was under my feet?

4. Son, thou hast been to me like a goat which was eating

madder. Says the madder: Why eatest thou me, if with my root they dye thy skin? Said the goat: I in my life time eat thee, but after my death they pluck up thy root, and prepare my skin.

5. Son, thou hast been to me like him that shot an arrow up to the heaven; although he was not able to reach thereunto, yet he reaped the reward of his impiety; for the arrow returned upon his head.

5 *a*. Son, the maggot of the bread ate the body of the king, but was itself of no use to anyone nor profitable but vile.

6. Son, thou hast been to me as the wolf that encountered an ass, and said: Peace be unto thee. The young ass said to him: Peace to yonder lord of mine, who hath loosed the cord from my feet, and let me behold thy face.

7. Son, thou thoughtest thus, saying: I will fill the place of Khikar; but if the pig's tail should be about nine ells long, it could not take the place of the horse.

8. Son, I thus thought, that thou wouldst stay in my house, and inherit my goods. But according to thy lawlessness, God has not prospered thee.

9. Son, thou hast been to me like the lure which lay buried in the dung, and it had a seed of corn in its mouth. A sparrow saw it and said: What art thou? And it said: Bread for the hungry. The sparrow answered: When thou art praying to God, even so he hears thy prayers.

10. Son, thou hast been to me like a bold bad dog, that bit his master's leg (*lit.* muscle).

11. Son, I nurtured thee like the young of an eagle, and thy fingers were sharpened against my eyes, for thine eye was evil to behold me.

12. Son, a dog which abandons its master will become the prey of the wolf.

13. Son, a hand which I nurtured and helps me not, from the shoulder let it be lopped off.

14. Son, eyes that give me no light, let the ravens pluck them out of their sockets.

15. Son, I have shown unto thee the face of the gods and the palace; and thou didst cast me down from my glory.

16. Son, thou hast been to me like the tree which they were cutting down. Said the tree: If what is in thy hand were not from me, thou wert not able to overcome me.

17. Son, thou hast been to me as the cat, to whom they said: Give up thy ordinary manners, and it shall be free to thee to enter the palace. But the cat said: If my eyes were of silver and my paws of gold, I yet would not give up my customary life.

18. Son Nathan, I gave thee to feast upon all my good things; but thou hast prevented my having bread of dust.

19. Son, I anointed thee with sweet oil, and I clad thee in linen and purples; yet thou didst destroy my body in a house of darkness.

20. Son, I reared thee like the cedar tree, as my eldest son; but thou in thy lifetime hast blinded me.

21. Son, I raised thee on high like a tower, so that if the enemy should come against me, thou mightest be to me a fortress of refuge; but thou thyself hast been found to be the enemy in my house.

Nathan began to speak and said: My father Khikar, men sin against God, and He forgives them. Forgive me, and sin not against me, and I will be for thee a worthless slave, like one of those that transgress.

22. Khikar said: Son, a certain man had planted a palm tree on the banks of the river, and continually did the fruit fall into the river. The lord of the tree came to cut it down, but the palm tree said: Leave me this year, nor cut me down; and in the next year I will bear fruit, and not cast it into the river. The lord of the tree said: Thou in thy season hast borne me no fruit, and now that I would cut thee down, how wilt thou become useful?

23. Son, they said to the wolf: Keep away from the fold. It answered: If I get away, I go blind; for the dust of the fold is good for my eyes and heals them.

24. Son, the tail of a dog wins him bread, but his mouth a cudgel.

25. In the same hour Nathan swelled up and burst asunder. Then said Khikar:

Son, he that doeth well to the good, will meet with good; and he that diggeth a pit for his neighbour, fills it with his own person. He that loveth evil is hateful to many, and he that pursues the good inherits it.

TRANSLATION OF OLD TURKISH TEXT

Vienna. Codex no. 468, fol. 54 b

The clauses are given in the order of the Armenian original

I. Of the wise Khikar, the words, wisdoms and maxims. He spake and taught, what the children of men should learn. And a father should give instruction to his son, and they should receive understanding.

II. In the ancient dynasty, in the season of kings, there was a king Senekarim by name, of Nineveh, of Kerman and Asorestan. I Khikar the wise was 60 years of age. I took a wife. Boy or girl I had not.

III. I went before my God, and divers offerings I made, and having burned them, I prostrated myself before them, and I said:

IV. Alas. My Lords and Gods, of the first Belshim was the name, of the second Shillim was the name, of the third the name was Shahmil—be so good, give ye unto me a male child. For behold, Khikar, living in him, dies not.

V. Let not the children of men say that Khikar the Wise, the eloquent, is dead; and that child he had none who might bury him, and of his property (say), it is mine. Only let there be a son, and if this day ten talents of gold shall be flung outside; it will not be found that my property shall be exhausted.

VI. If there were a son who with two hands might cast dust over me, and even as a son should unto me raise a memorial.

VII. In that hour there came unto me a voice from the gods, and they said:

Khikar it is ordained that unto thee there shall be a son.

Take thy brother's son for thyself, and nourish him, and let him grow up. After thyself thy place shall be his.

VIII. When I heard this voice from my gods, I took my brother's son of one year old, I had him clothed in divers vestments; and I put on his neck a gold necklace like a king's son; I gave him to drink wholly of milk and of clotted cream and of wild honey.

IX. And I laid him to rest upon pillows of the down (?) of eagles and of doves, until he was seven years of age. Thereafter I began to teach him writing, philosophy and wisdom, knowledge of the world, all sorts of actions, excellence and art of contradictory answer and speech.

X. By day and night I ceased not to instruct him, and sated him with understanding and wisdom, as anyone might be sated with water and with bread.

XI. Furthermore after that the king called me to his side and said as follows:

Wise Khikar I behold thee that thou art grown old. After thee who shall be perfect in eloquence, and in wisdom also serviceable to my kingdom? I am greatly distressed at this thing.

XII. I said: O my King, be not distressed. My son exists, who will be more eloquent, wise and talented than myself.

XIII. The King said: Bring him before me, that I may see him. I fetched him and set him before the king.

XIV. The King beheld and found pleasure and said: Blessed shall be the days of this child, because Khikar has bestowed his own wealth upon me. He shall himself be at rest.

XV. After that I prostrated myself to my king; I took my son and went to my palace. In this wise I spake, instructing my son by name Nadan.

1. My son, whatever thou hearest at a king's threshold, hold it fast in your heart, open it not to anyone. That which is bound and sealed, unbind thou not: the unbound, bind thou not: and whatsoever thou hearest, make not public, and utter not.

2. My son, shouldst thou, having opened thine eye, behold a

beautiful woman, because of her bedizenment and adornment, let it not be that thou eye her with desire. If thou gavest thy possessions in their entirety thou wouldst find the profit of thine envious gazing to be no other than that thou receive condemnation from God and from mankind. For the reason that a woman resembles a beautiful tomb; that tomb's interior is full of carnage and stench of death.

3. My son, be not like unto an almond tree, which of all trees is first to bear flowers, but of all trees bears its fruit last. Rather be like unto the mulberry tree, which is the last to flower, and the first to bear fruit.

4. My son, it is better in company of a man of understanding to haul stones around, than with a foolish man to drink wine.

5. My son, with men of understanding be not foolish and with the foolish be not understanding.

6. My son, keep interest with the clever, if thou hast not become clever as they. Let it not be that thou become a companion of witless and foolish men; or they will call thee too foolish and witless.

7. My son, it is better thou shouldst pour out thy wine, than drink it with fools and witless men, lest it come to pass that they despise thee.

8. My son, be not over sweet, or they will gulp thee down; nor over bitter, for they will then spit thee out. But do thou be gentle and patient in all thy pursuits and proceedings and in thine every deed.

9. My son, while thy shoe is on thy foot, trample down the thorns, and open the path for thy foot.

10. My son, a rich child ate a snake, they said that it was medicine for him. A poor man's son might eat it, they would say he ate it out of hunger.

Therefore eat thine own portion, and rest not thine eye on thy neighbour's wife, nor on his property. Nor walk on thy road with a man who is without fear of God, or with one who dissuades from peace; nor eat bread either with the like of him.

11. My son, shouldst thou behold thine enemy fallen, jibe not nor make mockery of him. If he should rise erect, he would do thee harm.

18. My son, love thy father and thy mother, who bore thee. Thou wilt not receive their curse. Because a blessing of God, of father and of mother, remains like... his curse. For thou shalt rejoice in thyself... from thy children.

12. My son, a bad... will fall according to his badness: but a good child will rise and stand according to his goodness.

13. My son, draw not nigh unto a bad and useless woman. For men will for ever make thee an object for their ill-speaking, of opprobrium also and insult. Hastening thy departure, flee from the like of her.

14. My son, from the stick, from teaching, spare not in pity thy child. That stick is to the child, as if thou shouldst spread manure in a garden; and also as a seal upon a letter. In the same way it is good to repeat the blow upon the child. If once or twice daily he be chastised with a rod, he is thereby rendered gentle, and he dies not of it. If thou leave him to himself, he will become a thief; and they will take him off to hang him or behead him, and he will become for thee in consequence thereof a... Never out of your mind will it pass away.

15 & 16. My son, discipline thy child in hunger and thirst; that in pride his own days may not pass away.

Should they report a saying from thine enemy, approve not thereof, for the reason that they will report to him thine own sayings.

19. My son, if thine enemy be without a companion of the road, pass not along the road. Perchance thine enemy will ambush thy road, and thou shalt die untimely.

20. My son, let it not be that thou say "my superior is silly and I myself am a man of understanding": and so praise thyself. Rather submit to his silliness and draw nigh to the wise, in order that outsiders may praise thee.

23. My son, never speak evil of anyone, and in the presence

of thy superior do it not, lest in the presence of men he insult thee.

24. My son, when thou dost offer alms, leave not the beggar hungry. Thou wilt so forfeit the approval of God.

25. My son, quit not sorrow or tears, nor start out straightway to attend a banquet or a merry-making; because divers ways of death lie before us, and divers kinds of trials.

26. Any gold ring that is not thine, keep it not on thy finger; and any garment that is not thine, put it not on; and any horse whatever that is not thine, mount him not, lest thou become an object of mockery.

27. My son, even if thou be hungry, any bread which is not thine, eat not of it.

28. My son, a man who is stronger than thyself, with him entertain not resistance, nor be opposed unto him.

So it shall not be that he fell thee to the ground and slay thee.

29. My son, whatever good or evil thou hearest, hide it in thy heart; from God it will be good for thee, and it will increase thy life.

30. My son, if thy house be very tall, seven fathoms high, bend thy neck and enter.

31. My son, receive not with a big measure, and give not with a little one; and say not: I have made a profit. Such gain as this, God augmenteth not, but vengeance exceeding; and thou shalt perish of hunger.

32. My son, swear not falsely, lest thy days be diminished and shortened. A liar's days are made to be few.

33. My son, ever give ear to God's commandments, and dread not the ancient adversary. God's command for a good man is a stone rampart.

34. My son, because thy children are many, rejoice not; and because of their being too few, weep not too much, nor mourn exceedingly.

35. My son, children and chattels are the gifts of God. Yea,

the rich man is made poor, and the poor is made rich; and the lowly becometh great, and the great man is brought low.

36. My son, if thy neighbour should be sick, say not: What can I have taken to him? Rather go on thine own feet to his side and see him with thine own eyes. Thy greeting of the sick man is better than if thou gavest him gold or silver.

37. My son, in evil speaking thou stirrest up strife. Take not gold or pearls. With this falsehood, trick not the upright. Rather make the law upright; and if thou shed the upright man's blood, thine also they shall shed.

38. My son, keep thy tongue from evil speaking, thine eye from evil glances. Whatsoever thou shalt steal, will bring death.

39. My son, commit not adultery with thy neighbour's wife. Later on thine own wife shall fall to thy neighbour, for him to trip her up, and therefrom will accrue unto thee opprobrium.

40. My son, let it not be that thou take unto thyself a widowed woman for thy wife. For let any dispute about aught arise between you both, she will bethink her of her first master, and thou wilt sorrow and be distressed.

41. My son, if a trial of any kind befall thee from God, be it not that thou do lightly murmur, lest he send thy past evil irretrievably, and remove thee untimely from the world. Rather be thou, whatever fate shall come from God, thankful; because thankful lips render a debt of 500-fold on God.

42. My son, love not thy child more than thy slave. Thou knowest not which of them and on what scale will be useful to thee.

44. My son, ever in thine own mind, reflect well; and honour the old people, in order that thou mayest be honoured of God and good accrue to thee.

46. My son, during the season of thy youth be not over-bearing, that during thy season thou perish not.

47. My son, grant not to thy neighbour that he tread upon thy foot, lest he also tread on thy neck.

48. My son, with whomsoever thou standest before a judge, let it not be that thou address him with petulance; rather however

they speak, make answer softly, and that judge shall swoop down upon him.

49. My son, if from God thou makest petition for pardon, first of all submit thyself to His behests with a calf of one year old, and with fasting and with prayer. After that God will fulfil thy petition.

50. My son, it is better thou shouldst establish thy name good for ever, than that thou shouldst make thyself beautiful with clothes. Beauty passes away, but a good name remains eternal.

51. My son, it is better to be blind of eye than blind of understanding. With blindness you quickly learn the way along the road; but with a blind understanding, one loses the right road and proceeds by self-will.

53. My son, it is better to accept poverty than squander wealth.

55. My son, seek out carefully in thy breast thy words, and afterwards let the words issue from thy mouth. If thou sayest now this thing, now that, thou becomest utterly soft.

56. My son, from whomsoever thou shalt hear an evil word, lock it up in thy heart seven fathoms deep. The evil will die and turn to goodness.

57. My son, laugh not idly at all. From such a laugh is engendered strife, and from such strife is engendered death.

58. My son, a false word and falsehood are as heavy as lead; a few days afterwards they drift along the road like the leaf of a tree.

59. My son, utter not thy trifling counsels to thy friend. If he should not make thy counsel public, then thou shalt communicate to him also thy important counsels, and thou shalt keep him a faithful and upright friend.

60. My son, do thou ever give before kings and magistrates a welcome to thy fellow christian[1]; with word and with stave hold him fast, that thou mayest save him from the lion's mouth. He will be to thee a reputation and a glory.

61. My son, if thine enemy come to thy foot, and ask for

[1] The word *christian* is obviously an interpolation of the Armenian translator.

pardon, pardon him, and in thy heart laugh; and in his presence rejoice and favour him.

62. My son, they that shall not invite thee to honour, go not unto them; and if anyone asks not a word of thee, give him no answer. And therefore walk not with thy feet incontinently on any waters that are not frozen over, lest thou perish untimely.

66. My son, make trial of thy child with hunger and thirst and poverty and old tattered raiment. If he be patient, give thy possessions into his hand.

67. My son, whenever they invite thee to a dance or to a wedding, join it. Thou shalt depart first before any of thy comrades: and shalt not go there again a second time. So from God thou winnest a good name, and receivest not wounds upon thy head.

70. My son, if thou be poor, make it not manifest among thy companions, lest thou be made a butt and lest they give no ear unto thy word.

74. My son, open not thy secrets nor thy saddlebags unto thy wife, for this reason, that a female is not able to keep a secret. She will publish it to her brethren and make a quarrel of it, and they will strike thee dead.

75. My son, if thou be given to drinking, guard thy tongue from babbling. For thee it will be better, and thou wilt be called wise.

76. My son, render not up thy stronghold, nor thy goods, without a written instrument, without a seal, and without a witness. For he will forthwith deny thy intentions, and thou be grieved, and lose thy possessions.

77. My son, from a good friend sever not thyself; if thou dost, either thou wilt find a friend like him, or thou wilt not find one.

79. My son, it is better thy possessions should be stolen, than that theft should be brought home against thee.

80. My son, to whomsoever God is bountiful, him do thou honour. Shouldst thou behold thine elders, remove thy fur cap and stand erect in their presence, and magnify them.

81. My son, against a mighty man and wealthy, rise not up in

rebellion, nor compete in wealth. An avaricious man's eye nothing will sate or fill, except dust.

82. My son, be not a matchmaker, for goods and wealth and possessions are from God; and in case poverty supervene, they curse him who intervened.

84. My son, send thou and do not enter thy friend's house and go out. Subsequently, having been sated, he hates thee.

85. My son, a dog which leaves his own master and follows thee, take up a stone and hit him, so that he may not come after thee.

86. My son, a man who uses righteousness and takes counsel of a pure heart, is pleasing to God; and do thou dread shame, as thou wouldst God.

87. My son, an evil purpose rising up in the heart is of the old adversary. And submissiveness is the foundation of thine actions and a rampart of thy faith.

89. My son, love rectitude and expel falsehood. Ever give ear to God's commandment, and fear not the old adversary. God's commandment to a good man is a rampart of rock.

90. My son, flee from a bad and false man because avarice and all evil whatever is born of falsehood.

91. My son, love not judgment; whether thou overcomest or dost not overcome thine adversary, be quick to fear the judgment of God.

92. My son, whoever is upright in his heart is a luminous son; and he that cherisheth a grudge in his heart, and loving anger, conceals it, that man resembles the darkness of hell. But whoever is pure, open and forgiving, that man is merciful; but whosoever is avaricious, were he even rich, he is still senseless.

93. My son, into a tavern enter not. Shouldst thou however enter, stay not late there, because thou wilt lose thy wealth.

94. My son, speak not ill of thy companion, whether from far or from near, because an evil word causes bitterness to spread, and a quarrel arises among them.

95. My son, God hath ordained wine for the sake of merriment.

Nevertheless in an evil locality, in a worthless place, it is better thou shouldst drink anything bad, than liquor.

95 a. My son, such is a drunkard, as if an arrow should enter within the nose (of the bow). It inflicts no wound on any other person than on the man himself.

96. My son, a drunkard imagines as follows in his mind: I am noble, and I am brave, and whatever I say, I say with shrewd force. He knows not that, if he meets with any intelligent and brave man whatever, he will quickly smite him, a fugitive from his arm, to the ground and slay him.

97. My son, if thou see thine enemy, that he is lying on the ground, do thou be sorry, for the reason that thou wilt make a friend for thyself. If thou wilt hit him, he will rise up and do thee mischief.

98. My son, a man very drunk imagines that the earth is going round near him. He knows not that his head is going round; because the earth is of all fruits the mother, and similarly, but yet more, drink is mother of all evils. By brutalising man, it abandons him to wickedness, and by making him poor, slays the man and changes him and renders him like a wolf.

99. My son, avoid becoming surety for a man. If by any chance thou become his security, be sure that thou shalt give him thy garment. If perhaps thou givest not in time, they will impound thy goods one by one.

100. My son, be not a liar. If they once find thee a liar, they will reckon even thy true utterances to be false, and will not believe thee; but will pronounce thee to be a liar in every case.

101. Again Khikar addressed to Nadan, his brother's son the lore of the wise.

Four things there are which increase the light of a man's eye:
First he will look in some locality upon the flowers;
Secondly with naked sole he will walk upon the turf;
Thirdly he will walk in running water;
Fourthly he will behold travellers from afar.

103. Again there are four things that fatten a son of man;

firstly, the being clad; secondly, if he continually hear good words; thirdly, if he live in company with his own children and with his wife; fourthly, should one hear an evil word, but refuse to hear it.

105. Again, four things there are that for ever render a son of man self-respecting: a good word: poverty practised: few words spoken: and respect for a great personage.

106. Again there are four things which bring water (tears) to thy face: firstly, if a man should be in love with a bad woman: secondly, if he should be loquacious, and no one can speak with him: thirdly, if a man interrupt in the middle the conversation of honest people, and strike in and spoil it: fourthly, if one should say: I know and speak falsely.

107. Again, as they ask the wise Khikar: what in the world is most delightful? Khikar answered: shamefacedness, whosoever is shamefaced, he is pleasant; because every evil whatever springs from idleness.

108. This was my teaching which I gave, all that I Khikar spake to my brother's son Nadan. I knew not, however, that he set my teaching at naught, and let it fall to the ground like dust before him. He began to injure me to the king, and began to destroy all my possessions, my purse, my means of livelihood, murdering my slaves, and insulting my handmaids. Nay he even assaulted my wife, Abestan by name, who had reared him as a child and trained him up.

110. After his having done these things to me, I went to my king, and notified to him Nadan's wickedness. I also flogged him, and drove him from my side, and said: Henceforth never shall my property be thine.

111. Forthwith the wretch began to malign me to the king, so much so that he influenced the king to issue an order saying: Take ye Khikar, and behead him.

112. Those executioners then did not forget my salt and bread. I prostrated myself and made supplication to them saying: There is here by me a man like myself, and he has committed a

murderous deed. Do ye cut off his head instead of mine, but hide me. I shall be of use some day to my king.

113. So they hid Khikar and decapitated the man.

114. It was noised abroad to the king, that Khikar had been beheaded; and Assyria lapsed into great mourning.

115. Some of the magnates went and presented themselves before King Pharaoh. And King Pharaoh heard that Khikar had been beheaded.

116. He sent high ambassadors to King Senekarim saying: Send me such a man as can well answer to whatever I may ask; and such a man, whoever he be, as shall show himself wise and talented enough to construct for me whatever sort of buildings I shall prescribe.

117. Senekarim the King called together his high officers and published the document by trumpet. Said the King: Who can give answer to this thing?

118. They said: My king, no one could give answer to this thing, except Nadan who was taught everything by Khikar.

119. The King called Nadan and said: Can you find an answer to this thing? Nadan answered, I cannot. Nay, if there were a thousand like me, they could not find an answer to the difficulties.

120. Thereupon the king missed Khikar with his own officers, being afraid of King Pharaoh, lest with a mighty army the latter should assail him.

121. And king Senekarim said: If anyone could resuscitate Khikar for me, I would give him the half of my kingdom.

122. Abusmak by name, an officer, came forward and said: Khikar as ever is alive. As he spoke, he went and fetched at once Khikar and set him once more before the king; but Khikar had contracted mighty filth (on his person).

123. The king gazed, and was greatly rejoiced, and said: This is the blessed by God. For this day he has resuscitated Khikar from death. Thereupon the ruler sent him away, saying: Go thou,

and wash, and get fat; and on the fortieth day thou shalt present thyself before me.

124. As soon as, after forty days, I came to the side of the king, he said: Your Highness, hast thou heard what embassy hath come to me from King Pharaoh?

125. I said: My king, I would fain go with my charm, and adjust these matters. He went and would arrange everything, quietly, if so be.

126. And he came with great rejoicing and great gifts from Pharaoh the King to King Senekarim. He advanced to meet the king with the magnates.

127. Again there came certain men who took to flight when they heard that Khikar was alive.

128. Thereupon the king said: Whatsoever thou ask, I will give thee.

129. He answered: My King, I ask of thee nothing so much as that thou shouldst give me my brother's son Nadan.

130. As soon as he gave me Nadan, I said to my slave: Bind not; with all superfluity of speech, I would utter but one word, and would flog my slave (or my slaves flog him).

131. I said: My son, my God has preserved me in my sinlessness, but thee He has exposed, according to thine iniquity.

132. God shall give judgment between us, between thee and me.

133. In that moment he listened, and burst asunder; and I said: My son, a good action being done begets good, and a bad action done, begets evil.

134. And whoso for another digs, into his pit he falls himself.

135. Good is produced by good and evil is produced by evil.

136. Let a child conduct himself in keeping with that day; and he shall receive the blessing of his father and mother, and walk in uprightness, Amen.

A FRAGMENT OF THE SYRIAC TEXT OF THE LEGEND OF AḤIḲAR

(from Mus. Britt. Add. 7200 = S_1)

...And it was said to me, [There will be no son to thee]. And I had much wealth; I wedded me sixty wives, and built me sixty castles: and from none of these women had I a son. Then I built me a great altar of incense and vowed a vow, and said, O Lord God, give me a male child, that when I shall die he may cast dust on my eyes. Thereupon there was heard by me this voice saying, O Aḥiḳar, vex not thyself overmuch; there is no son for thee; but behold Nadan thy sister's son; make him thy son; so that as he grows up, thou mayest be able to teach him everything. Then when I heard this, I took Nadan my sister's son, and he became my son. And on this wise I was saying to him[1]:

1. Hear my teaching, my son Nadan; and come to my understanding, and be mindful of my words, according to the following sayings: and thereupon Aḥiḳar[2] began to teach Nadan his sister's son, and answered and said to him:

2. My son, if thou hast heard a word, let it die in thy heart; and reveal it to no man; lest it should become a hot coal in thy mouth, and burn thee; and thou shalt lay blemish on thy soul, and shalt be hated on earth, and be angered against God[3].

[1] The account of the earlier years of Nadan's bringing up is omitted; if indeed it existed in the first form of the story.

[2] The text is double; a copy which had the primitive 'I Aḥiḳar took my son' having been compounded with one that had 'Thereupon Aḥiḳar.' A comparison with the Tobit-parallels shows that the second clause is a modification of the first.

[3] We should expect 'And God shall be angry with thee.'

3. My son, do not tell all that thou seest, and do not disclose all that thou hearest.

4. My son, do not loose a knot that is sealed; and do not seal one which is loosed.

5. My son, sweeten thy tongue, and make savoury the opening of thy mouth; because the tail of the dog gives him bread, and his mouth gets him blows.

6. My son, the eye of man is a fountain, and is not satisfied with riches until [filled with dust].

7. [My son, if] thou lift up thine eyes [and behold a woman bedizened] and beautified, covet her not in thy heart; for if thou shouldest give her all [that thou hast, advantage][1] in her thou wilt not find; and thou wilt be guilty of sin before God.

8. My son, stand not in the house of those that are at strife: because from a word there comes a quarrel, and from a quarrel is stirred up vexation; and from vexedness springs murder[2].

9. My son, if a house were built by loudness of voice, the ass would build two houses in a single day: and if by sheer force the plough was directed, the plough-share would never be worn away[3] under the shoulder of the camel.

10. Better to remove stones with the wise man than to drink wine with the fool.

11. My son, in the company of the wise thou wilt not be depraved; and in the company of the depraved thou wilt not become wise.

12. My son, make a companion of the wise person, and thou wilt become wise like him; and make not a companion of the foolish person, lest thou be reckoned like him.

13. While there are shoes on thy feet, tread down the thorns and make a path for thy sons and thy sons' sons.

[1] A slight correction has been made in the Syriac text.

[2] Cf. *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, 'My child, be not angry, for anger leads to murder,' which is a simpler and more archaic form of the same precept.

[3] This difficult expression is replaced in S_2 by the easier terms 'would never be released.' In either case the meaning is obscure. Quaere, 'if brute force were sufficient, the camel might go on ploughing by himself'?

14. My son, the rich man eats a snake, and they say, For his medicine he ate it: the poor man eats it, and they say, Because of his hunger he ate it.

15. My son, eat thy portion, and stretch not out thy hand over that of thy neighbour.

16. My son, do not eat bread with a man that is shameless.

17. My son, if thou seest thine enemy fallen, do not mock at him; lest he should rise up and repay thee.

18. My son, be not envious at the good fortune of thine enemy; and do not rejoice at his misfortune.

19. My son, do not approach a woman who is hateful and talkative, and one whose voice is high. For the beauty of a woman is her good sense and the word of her mouth is her adornment.

20. My son, if thine enemy meet thee with evil, meet thou him with good.

21. My son, if thou seest a man who is stronger than thyself, rise up before him.....

End of Fragment.

J. R. H.

THE LEGEND OF AḤIḲAR

FROM A SYRIAC MS. IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

(Cod. Add. 2020 = S_2)

AGAIN, by the divine power, I write the proverbs, to wit, the story of Aḥiḳar, sage and secretary of Sennacherib the king of Assyria and Nineveh.

In the twentieth year of Sennacherib, son of Sarḥadum, king of Assyria and Nineveh, I, Aḥiḳar, was the king's secretary.

And it had been said to me when I was a boy, that no son will be born to thee[1]: and the wealth that I had acquired was too vast

[1] Presumably, this was said by the astrologers.

to tell. Sixty wives had I wedded; and sixty castles did I build them: and I had no son. Thereupon I, Aḥiḳar, built me a great altar, all of wood; and kindled fire upon it, and laid good meat thereon, and thus I spake:

'O Lord, my God; when I shall die and leave no son, what will men say of me? they will say that this, then, is Aḥiḳar the just and good and God-serving: he is dead, and has left no son to bury him, no! nor a daughter: and his possessions, as if he were accursed, no man inherits. But I ask of thee, O God, that I may have a male child; so that when I shall die, he may cast dust on my eyes': and this voice was heard by me, 'O Aḥiḳar, wise scribe, all that thou hast asked of me I have given thee; but as to my having left thee childless, let it suffice thee: perplex not thyself: but behold! Nadan thy sister's son: he shall be a son unto thee: so that with the growth of his stature thou shalt be able to teach him everything.' And when I heard these things, I was grieved again, and said, 'Oh! Lord God! is it that thou wilt give me as a son Nadan my sister's son, so that when I die he may throw dust on my eyes?' And no further answer was returned to me. And I obeyed the command and took to me for a son, Nadan, my sister's son: and because he was yet young, I furnished him with eight wet-nurses: and I brought up my son on honey, and made him lie on choice carpets, and clothed him in fine linen and purple; and my son grew and shot up like a cedar, and when my son was grown big, I taught him book-lore and wisdom; and when the king came from the place to which he had gone, he called me and said to me, O Aḥiḳar, the wise scribe and master of my thoughts, when thou shalt wax old and die, who is there to come after thee and to serve me like thyself?' And I answered and said to him, 'O my lord the king, live for ever! I have a son, wise like myself, and book-learned like myself, and educated.' And the king said to me, 'Bring him and let me see him. If he is able to stand before me, I will release thee in peace, and thou shalt spend thy old age in honour, until thou shalt end thy days.' Then I took my son Nadan

and set him before the king, and when my lord the king saw him, he said, 'This day shall be a blessed day before God, so that like as Aḥiḳar walked[1] before my father Sarḥadum, and before me also, he shall be rewarded[2] and I will set his son in my gate in his lifetime, and he shall depart his life [in peace]. Thereupon I, Aḥiḳar, bowed down before the king and said, 'My lord the king, live for ever! And like as I walked before thy father and before thyself even until now, so do thou also extend thy forbearance to the youthfulness of this my son, that thy grace which was toward me may be found multiplied towards him.' Then when the king heard this, he gave me his right hand, and I, Aḥiḳar, bowed down before the king.

Nor did I cease from the instruction of my son, until I had filled him with instruction as with bread and water. And on this wise was I discoursing to him:

1. Hear, O my son Nadan, and come to the understanding of me, and be mindful of my words, as the words of God[3].

2. My son Nadan, if thou hast heard a word, let it die in thy heart, and reveal it to no man; lest it become a hot coal in thy mouth and burn thee, and thou lay a blemish on thy soul, and be angered against God.

3. My son, do not tell all that thou hearest, and do not disclose all that thou seest.

4. My son, do not loose a knot that is sealed, and do not seal one that is loosed.

5. My son, lift not up thy eyes and look upon a woman that is bedizened and painted; and do not covet her in thy heart; for if thou shouldest give her all that is in thy hands, thou findest no advantage in her; and thou wilt be guilty of sin against God.

6. My son, commit not adultery with the wife of thy neighbour; lest others should commit adultery with thy wife.

[1] Lit. *ran*.

[2] Reading ܢܗܘܐ

[3] Cf. *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, c. iv. 'Him that speaketh to thee the word of God, thou shalt remember night and day, and thou shalt honour him as the Lord.'

7. My son, be not in a hurry, like the almond tree whose blossom is the first to appear, but whose fruit is the last to be eaten: but be equal and sensible, like the mulberry tree whose blossom is the last to appear, but whose fruit is the first to be eaten.

8. My son, cast down thine eyes and lower thy voice, and look from beneath thine eyelids: for if a house could be built by a high voice, the ass would build two houses in one day: and if by sheer force the plough was guided, its share would never be loosed from the shoulder of the camel.

9. My son, it is better to remove stones with a wise man than to drink wine with a fool.

10. My son, pour out thy wine on the graves of the righteous, rather than drink it with evil men.

11. My son, with a wise man thou wilt not be depraved, and with a depraved man thou wilt not become wise.

12. My son, associate with the wise man, and thou wilt become wise like him: and associate not with a garrulous and talkative man, lest thou be numbered with him.

13. My son, while thou hast shoes on thy feet, tread down the thorns and make a path for thy sons and for thy sons' sons.

14. My son, the rich man eats a snake, and they say, He ate it for medicine. And the poor man eats it, and they say, For his hunger he ate it.

15. My son, eat thy portion, and despise not thy neighbours.

16. My son, with a shameless man it is not fit even to eat[1].

17. My son, envy not the prosperity of thy enemy, and rejoice not at his adversity[2].

18. My son, draw not near to a woman that is a whisperer, nor to one that has a shrill voice.

19. My son, go not after the beauty of a woman: and lust not after her in thy heart: because the beauty of a woman is her good sense: and her adornment is the word of her mouth.

[1] Cf. 1 Cor. v. 11, ἐάν τις...ᾖ πόρνος...τῷ τοιούτῳ μηδὲ συνεσθίειν.

[2] Cf. Prov. xxiv. 17, ἐὰν πέσῃ ὁ ἐχθρός σου, μὴ ἐπιχαρῇς αὐτῷ.

20. My son, if thine enemy meet thee with evil, meet thou him with wisdom[1].

21. My son, the wicked falleth and riseth not; but the just man is not moved, for God is with him.

22. My son, withhold not thy son from stripes; for the beating of a boy is like manure to the garden, and like rope to an ass [or any other beast,][2] and like tether on the foot of an ass.

23. My son, subdue thy son while he is yet a boy, before he wax stronger than thee and rebel against thee, and thou be shamed in all his corrupt doing.

24. My son, get thee an ox that [is fat and] lies down, and an ass that has good hoofs, but do not get thee a slave that is runaway nor a maid that is thievish: lest they destroy all that thou hast gotten.

25. My son, the words of a liar are like fat sparrows; and he that is void of understanding eateth them.

26. My son, bring not upon thee the curses of thy father and of thy mother, lest thou rejoice not in the blessings of thy children.

27. My son, walk not in the way unarmed; because thou knowest not when thy enemy shall come upon thee.

28. My son, even as a tree is fair in its branches and fruit, and a bosky mountain in its trees, so is a man fair in his wife and weans; and he that hath not brethren, nor wife nor weans, is despised and contemptible before his enemies; and he is like unto a tree by the roadside, from which every passer-by plucketh, and every beast of the weald teareth down its leafage[3].

29. My son, say not, 'My lord is a fool, and I am wise'; but take hold of him in his faults and thou shalt obtain mercy.

30. My son, count not thyself to be wise, when others count thee not to be wise.

[1] He does not mean 'overcome evil with good,' which would be a sentiment foreign to the action of the story, but 'get the better of him.'

[2] The bracketed words are a gloss.

[3] Cf. Ps. cxxvii. 5.

31. My son, be not in thy speech before thy lord, lest thou be convicted and he shall say to thee, 'Away from my sight!'

32. My son, let thy words be true, in order that thy lord may say to thee, 'Draw near me,' and thou shalt live.

33. My son, in the day of thy calamity revile not God; lest when He hear thee, He should be angered against thee.

34. My son, treat not thy slave better than his fellow; for thou knowest not which of them thou wilt have need of at the last.

35. My son, smite with stones the dog that has left his own master and followed after thee.

36. My son, the flock that makes many tracks becomes the portion of the wolves.

37. My son, judge upright judgment in thy youth, in order that in thy age thou mayest have honour.

38. My son, sweeten thy tongue and make savoury the opening of thy mouth; for the tail of a dog wins him bread and his mouth gets him blows.

39. My son, suffer not thy neighbour to tread on thy foot, lest he tread on thy neck.

40. My son, smite the [wise] man with wise word, that it may be in his heart like a fever in summer; [but know] that if thou smite the fool with many blows, he will not understand.

41. My son, send a wise man and give him no orders; but if thou wilt send a fool, go rather thyself and send him not.

42. My son, test thy son with bread and water, and then thou canst leave in his hands thy possessions and thy wealth.

43. My son, withdraw at the first cup, and tarry not for liquorish draughts[1]: lest there be to thee wounds in thy head.

44. My son, he whose hand is full is called wise and honourable; and he whose hand is scant is called foolish and abject.

45. My son, I have carried salt and removed lead; and I

[1] Lit. 'beasts.' But perhaps we should read ܕܥܫܐ ܕܚܕܘܩܐ (cf. the 73rd proverb, and translate 'tarry not for sweet unguents.'

have not seen anything heavier than that a man should pay back a debt which he did not borrow[1].

46. My son, I have carried iron and removed stones; and they were not heavier on me than a man who settles in the house of his father-in-law.

47. My son, teach hunger and thirst to thy son, that according as his eye sees he may govern his house.

48. My son, better is he that is blind of eye than he that is blind of heart; for the blind of eye straightway learneth the road and walketh in it: but the blind of heart leaveth the right way and goeth into the desert.

49. My son, better is a friend that is at hand than a brother who is far away: and better is a good name than much beauty: because a good name standeth for aye: but beauty wanes and wastes away.

50. My son, death is better than life to a man that hath no rest: and better is the voice of wailing in the ears of a fool than music and joy[2].

51. My son, better is a drumstick in thy hand than a wing [?] in the pot of other people; and better is a sheep that is at hand than a heifer that is far off; and better is poverty that gathers than wealth that scatters; and better one sparrow in thy hand than a thousand on the wing: and better is a woollen coat on thy back than fine linen and silks on the backs of others.

52. My son, restrain a word in thy heart, and it shall be well with thee; because when thou hast exchanged thy word, thou hast lost thy friend.

53. My son, let not a word go forth from thy mouth, until thou hast taken counsel within thy heart: because it is better for a man to stumble in his heart than to stumble with his tongue.

54. My son, if thou hear an evil matter, put it seven fathoms deep underground.

[1] Cf. Sirach xxii. 14, 15. Prov. xxvii. 3.

[2] Cf. Eccl. vii. 1, 2. Apparently the sentiments of Ecclesiastes are contradicted.

55. My son, tarry not where there is contention; for from strife arises murder[1].

56. My son, every one who does not judge right judgment angers God.

57. My son, remove[2] not from thy father's friend, lest perchance thy friend come not near to thee.

58. My son, go not down into princes' gardens and draw not near to princes' daughters.

59. My son, aid thy friend before the ruler, that thou mayest find out how thou mayest help him from the lion.

60. My son, rejoice not over the enemy when he dieth.

61. My son, when thou seest a man who is stronger than thyself, rise up before him.

62. My son, if the waters should stand up without earth, and the sparrow fly without wings, and the raven become white as snow, and the bitter become sweet as honey, then may the fool become wise.

63. My son, if thou art a priest of God, be thou wary of Him and enter His presence in purity, and from His presence remove not.

64. My son, him that God prospers do thou also honour.

65. My son, strive not[3] with a man in his day, and stand not against a river in its flood[4].

66. My son, the eye of man is like a fountain of water, and it is not satisfied with riches until filled with dust.

67. My son, if thy will is to be wise, refrain thy tongue from lying, and thy hand from theft, and thou shalt become wise.

68. My son, have no part in the espousal of a woman; for if it shall go ill with her, she will curse thee; and if it shall go well with her, she will not remember thee.

[1] Cf. Proverbs of the Twelve Apostles, 'Be not angry; for anger leads to murder; nor contentious.'

[2] Reading ܬܪܚܩ ܠܐ. [3] Lit. judge not.

[4] Cf. Sirach iv. 28; the Syriac reading 'Stand not up against a fool' may perhaps be explained, not as suggested above by a confusion between נגד and נבל, but by one between יִגְבַּר and יִגְבַּל.

69. My son, he that is elegant in his dress is elegant also in his speech, and he that is contemptible in his dress is contemptible also in his speech.

70. My son, if thou shalt find a find before an idol, offer the idol its share of it[1].

71. My son, the hand that was satisfied and is now hungry will not give, nor the hand that was hungry and is now satisfied.

72. My son, let not thine eyes look upon a woman that is beautiful; and be not inquisitive into beauty that does not belong to thee: because many have perished through the beauty of woman, and her love has been as a fire that burneth.

73. My son, let the wise man strike thee with many blows, and let not the fool salve thee with sweet salve[2].

74. My son, let not thy foot run after thy friend, lest he be surfeited with thee and hate thee.

75. My son, put not a gold ring on thy finger, when thou hast not [wealth][3]; lest fools make mock of thee.

This is the teaching which Aḥiḳar taught to Nadan his sister's son.

But I, Aḥiḳar, supposed that everything which I had been teaching Nadan, he took hold of in his heart, and that he stood in my stead in the king's gate; and I knew not that Nadan listened not to my words, but scattered them, as it were, to the wind; and returned and said that my father Aḥiḳar is grown old, and stands at the door of his grave; and his intelligence has withdrawn and his understanding is diminished; and my son Nadan began [to ill-treat] my servants by beating them and slaughtering them and destroying them; and he showed no mercy on my servants and my handmaidens though they were industrious and well-beloved and excellent; and my horses he slew and my good mules he ham-strung. So when I beheld me that

[1] This sentence cannot be of Christian or Moslem origin.

[2] Cf. Ps. cxli. 5, 'Let the righteous smite me &c.'

[3] Or 'when it is not thine.'

my son Nadan was doing detestable things, I answered and said to him, My son Nadan, touch not my property; my son, it is said in the proverb, 'What the hand did not acquire, the eye did not spare.' Moreover I showed to Sennacherib my lord all these matters: and my lord spake on this wise, 'As long as Aḥiḳar lives, no man shall have power over his wealth.' Then when my son Nadan saw his brother Nebuzardan standing in my house, he was very irate and he spake on this wise; 'My father Aḥiḳar is grown old and his wits have waned; [and as for his wise words, he despised them][1]; hath he given his possessions to Nebuzardan my brother, and hath he removed me from his house?'

When I Aḥiḳar heard these things, I said, Alas for thee! my wisdom, that my son Nadan had made insipid; and as for my wise sayings, he has contemned them.

Now when my son Nadan heard thereof, he was angry and went to the gate of the king, and devised evil in his heart; and sat down and wrote two letters to two kings who were enemies of Sennacherib my lord; one to Akhi, the son of Ḥamselim, king of Persia and Elam, as follows: 'From Aḥiḳar the Secretary and Great Seal of Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh, greeting. When this letter reaches thee, arise and come to Assyria to meet me; and I will bring thee into Assyria, and thou shalt seize the kingdom without war.' And he wrote another letter, as follows: 'To Pharaoh, king of Egypt, from Aḥiḳar, Secretary and Great Seal of the king of Assyria and Nineveh, greeting. When this letter shall reach thee, arise and come to meet me at Eagles' dale, which lieth to the south, on the 25th day of the month Ab. And I will bring thee into Nineveh without war and thou shalt seize the kingdom.' And he made these writings of his like to my own handwriting; and he sealed them in the king's palace, and went his way.

And he wrote further another letter to me, as if from my lord the king Sennacherib; and on this wise he wrote it:

[1] Probably a repetition from three lines lower down.

'From Sennacherib the King, to Aḥiḳar, my Secretary and Great Seal, greeting. When this letter reaches thee, gather all thy forces together, to the rock that is called Siṣ: and come forth from thence and come to meet me at Eagles' dale, which lieth to the south, on the 25th day of the month Ab. And when thou seest me approaching to thee, array thy forces against me, like a man that is ready for battle: for ambassadors of Pharaoh the king of Egypt are come to me; that they may see what forces I have.'

And my son Nadan sent this letter to me by the hands of two of the king's servants.

And thereupon my son Nadan took the letters that he had written, as if he had actually found them; and he read them before the king; and when my lord the king heard them, he lamented and said, 'O God, wherein have I sinned against Aḥiḳar, that he should do unto me on this fashion?' And my son Nadan answered and said to the king, 'My lord, do not fret nor rage. Arise and let us go to Eagles' dale on the day that is written by him in the letter. And if it be true, then all that thou commandest shall be done.'

So my son Nadan took the king my lord, and they came to me at Eagles' dale; and they found me having with me great forces that were gathered there. And when I saw the king, I put my forces in array against him, as it was written in the letter. And when the king saw it, he was much afraid.

Then my son Nadan answered and said to him: 'Let it not disturb thee, my lord the king. Return and come into thy chamber[1] in peace: and I will bring Aḥiḳar before thee.'

Then my lord the king returned to his house.

And my son Nadan came to me and said to me, 'All that thou hast done, thou hast done finely: and much hath the king praised thee; and he commands thee to dismiss thy forces that they may go every man to his own place and his own district. And do thou come to me thyself alone.'

[1] Taking the word as equivalent of the Greek κοιτῶνα.

Thereupon I came before the king, and when he saw me, he said unto me, 'Art thou come, Aḥiḳar, my Secretary and the foster-child of Assyria and Nineveh, thou whom I caused to come into honour? but thou hast turned back and taken the part of my enemies.' And he gave me those letters that were written in my name, and were sealed with the seal of my own ring. And when I read them, my tongue stammered and my limbs became faint: and I sought for a single word from the words of wisdom and I found me none. And my son Nadan answered and said to me, 'Away with thee from the king's sight, thou foolish old man: and, give thy hands to bonds and thy feet to iron fetters.'

Then Sennacherib the king turned away his face from me, and he talked with Nabusemakh[1].....and said to him, 'Arise, go slay Aḥiḳar, and separate his head a hundred ells from his body.'

Then I fell on my face on the ground and worshipped the king, and I said, 'My lord the king, live for ever. Seeing, my lord, that it hath pleased thee to kill me, thy will be done. I know, however, that I have not sinned against thee. But command them, my lord the king, that they kill me at the door of my house: and let them give my body to burial.'

And the king said to Nabusemakh[2]....., 'Go, kill Aḥiḳar at the door of his house, and give his body to burial.' Thereupon I, Aḥiḳar, sent to Eshfagni my wife that she should bring forth from the daughters of my tribe maids a thousand and one: and let them put on raiment of mourning, and let them wail and lament and weep over me. And let them come to meet me, and let them make a funeral feast[3] over me before I die. And prepare thou bread and a table and a banquet for Nabusemakh[4].....and his Parthians that are with him, and come to meet them, and receive them and bring them into my house. And I too will come into the house as a guest.

[1] 'Yabusemakh Meskin Kanti' which I do not understand; the correction of the first part of the name is obvious. Possibly it should be 'Nabušumuškin my colleague.' Compare the form as given in the Aramaic papyrus and in the Arabic.

[2] Ut supra. [3] Lit. a house of weeping. [4] Ut supra.

And Eshfagni my wife, for that she was exceeding wise, understood all my message, and did whatsoever I had sent to her to do; and she came forth to meet them, and she brought them into my house: and they did eat bread, and with her own hand she served them, until they fell asleep from drunkenness, every man in his place.

Thereat I, Aḥiḳar, entered and said to Nabusemakh[1], 'Look towards God, and remember the love that there was between us, brother: and grieve not over my death: and remember that thee also did Sarḥadum the father of Sennacherib deliver to me that I should slay thee, yet I slew thee not, because I was aware that there was in thee no ground of offence; and I kept thee alive until the king desired thee, and when I brought thee before him, he gave me great gifts, and many presents did I carry off from him. And do thou too, now, preserve me alive and recompense me this kindness: and in order that the word come not abroad that I was not killed and that the king may not quarrel with thee, behold, I have in my prison-house a slave, Marzifan hight, and he is due to die: clothe this slave in my raiment and rouse up the Parthians against him and they will slay him: and I shall not die, because I have done no wrong.'

And when I spake thus, moreover Nabusemakh[2]...also was sore grieved over me, and he took my raiments and clad in them the slave that was in the prison-house. And he roused up the Parthians, and they arose in the fumes[3] of their wine, and they slew him and removed his head a hundred ells from his corse, and they gave over his body for burial.

Then went forth the report in Assyria and Nineveh, that Aḥiḳar the Secretary is killed. And Nabusemakh[4]...rose up, and Eshfagni my wife, and they made for me a hiding-place under ground; its breadth was three cubits and its height five cubits, under the threshold of the door of my house. And they put bread and water with me, and went and shewed to Sennacherib the king

[1] Yabusemakh. [2] Ut supra. [3] Lit. taste. [4] Ut supra.

that Aḥiḳar, the Secretary, was dead: and when the men heard it, they wept; and the women disfigured[1] their faces and said: 'Alas for thee! Aḥiḳar the wise Secretary, thou fence of the breaches of our country: for like thee there will never be any one to us.'

Then Sennacherib the king called my son Nadan, and said to him, 'Go make a funeral feast[2] for thy father Aḥiḳar, and then return to me.' And when Nadan my son came, no funeral feast did he make for me, nor any remembrance at all; but gathered him the vain and lewd folk, and set them down at my table, with singing and with great joy; and my beloved servants and handmaidens he stripped and flogged without mercy. Nor had he any reverence of my wife Eshfagni, but sought to do with her the way of man with woman. And I, Aḥiḳar, was cast into darkness in the pit beneath. And I was hearing the voice of my bakers, cooks and butlers as they wept and sobbed within my house.

And after a few days came Nabusemakh[3]...and opened [my prison] over me[4] and comforted me; and set before me bread and water; and I said to him, 'When thou goest forth from me, remember me before God, and say, O God, just and righteous, and that showest grace upon the earth, hear the voice of thy servant Aḥiḳar[5], and remember that he sacrificed to thee fatted oxen like sucking lambs. And now he is cast into the darksome pit where he seeth no light. And dost thou not save him that crieth unto thee? O Lord, hear the voice of my colleague[6], [I pray thee].'

Now when Pharaoh, king of Egypt, heard that I, Aḥiḳar, had been slain, he was greatly rejoiced, and he wrote a letter to Sennacherib on this wise:

'Pharaoh, king of Egypt, to Sennacherib, king of Assyria and Nineveh, greeting. I am planning to build a castle between

[1] Lit. scratched.
[2] Lit. a house of weeping.
[3] Ut supra.
[4] Lit. on my eyes.
[5] Cf. Apoc. vi. 10, 'How long, O Lord, holy and true, &c.'
[6] This trifling but necessary emendation confirms our interpretation (vide supra) of *Meskin Kenothi*.

heaven and earth, wherefore seek out and send me from thy kingdom a man who is a skilled architect, that he may give me reply concerning all that I shall ask him. And when thou shalt send me such a man, I will collect and send thee the revenue of Egypt for three years: and if thou send me not a man who shall give me reply concerning all that I ask him, then do thou collect and send me the tribute of Assyria and Nineveh for three years, by the hands of these ambassadors that come to thee.'

And when this letter was read before the king, he cried out to all the nobles and franklins of his kingdom, and said unto them: 'Which of you will go to Egypt to give reply to the king concerning all that he shall ask him? And he shall build him the castle that he planneth, and bring back the three years' tribute of Egypt and come hither.'

And when the nobles heard this, they answered and said unto the king; 'My lord the king, thou knowest that not only in the years of thy reign, but also in the years of thy father Sarḥadum, Aḥiḳar the Secretary was in the habit of resolving questions like these. And now, also, behold his son Nadan, he is instructed in his father's book-lore and wisdom.' And when my son Nadan heard these things, he cried out before the king and said; 'The gods themselves cannot do things like these; let men alone[1].'

And when the king heard these words, he was much perturbed, and he descended from his throne and sat on the ground, and spake thus[2]; 'Alas for thee! Aḥiḳar the wise, that I destroyed thee for the words of a boy. Who will give thee to me for such a time as this? I would give him thy weight in gold.'

And when Nabusemakh[3]...heard these words, he fell down before the king and said to him: 'He who has contemned the commandment of his lord, is guilty of death; and I, my lord, have contemned the command of thy kingship. Command, therefore,

[1] Cf. Dan. ii. 11.

[2] Cf. Ezek. xxvi. 16, καὶ καταβήσονται ἀπὸ τῶν θρόνων αὐτῶν πάντες οἱ ἄρχοντες... ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καθεδοῦνται...καὶ στενάξουσιν ἐπί σε· καὶ λήψονται ἐπί σε θρῆνον καὶ ἐροῦσίν σοι....

[3] Ut supra.

that they crucify me. For Aḥiḳar, whom thou didst command me to slay, is yet alive.'

And when the king heard these words, he answered and said, 'Speak on, speak on, Nabusemakh[1], speak on, thou good and clever man, unskilled in evil. If it is indeed as thou sayest, and thou show me Aḥiḳar alive, then I will give thee presents of silver, a hundred talents in weight, and of purple, fifty talents in value[2].'

And Nabusemakh[3] answered and said, 'Swear to me, my lord the king, that, if there be not found before thee other sins of mine, the sin shall not be remembered against me.' And the king gave him his right hand on this matter. And forthwith the king mounted his chariot, and came unto me in haste, and opened [my prison] over me, and I ascended and came and fell before the king; the hair of my head had grown down on my shoulders, and my beard reached my breast; and my body was foul with the dust, and my nails were grown long like eagles'[4].

And when the king saw me, he wept and was ashamed to talk with me, and in great grief he said to me, 'It was not I that sinned against thee, Aḥiḳar; but thy son whom thou broughtest up, he it was that sinned against thee.' Thereupon I answered and said to him, 'Because I have seen thy face, my lord, no evil is in my mind.' And the king said to me, 'Go to thy house, Aḥiḳar, and shave off thy hair, and wash thy body, and recover thy strength[5] forty days; and after that come to me.'

Therefore I went to my house, and I was in my house about thirty days, and when I had recovered[6], I came to the king, and the king answered and said to me: 'Hast thou seen, Aḥiḳar, what a letter Pharaoh, king of Egypt, has written me?' And I answered and said, 'My lord the king, let there be no trouble to thee over this affair. I will go to Egypt and build the king a castle: and I will make him answer concerning all that he may ask me: and I will bring back with me the three years' tribute of Egypt.' And when the king heard these things he rejoiced with a great joy: and he gave

[1] Cod. Yabusemakh. [2] Dan. v. 16. [3] Cod. Yabusemakh. [4] Dan. iv. 33.
[5] Lit. let thy soul come into thee. [6] Lit. my soul was in order upon me.

me gifts: and as for Nabusemakh[1]...he set him at the head of all. And after this I wrote a letter to Eshfagni my wife as follows:

'When this letter reaches thee, command my huntsmen that they catch me two young eagles: and command the workers in flax, that they make me hempen ropes; the length of each one of them shall be a thousand ells, and their thickness that of one's little finger. And bid the carpenters to make me cages for the young eagles: and deliver over Ubael and Tabshelim, the two boys, who do not yet know how to talk, and let them teach them to say on this wise: "Give the builders mud, mortar, tiles, bricks, for they are idle."'

And Eshfagni my wife did all that I commissioned her: then I said to the king: 'Command, my lord, and send me that I go to Egypt.' And when the king commanded me to go, I took me a force of soldiers and went. And when we came to the first halting-place, I let out the young eagles and bound the ropes to their feet and made the boys ride on them; and they took them and went up to a great height, and the boys cried out as they had been taught, 'Mud, mortar, tiles, bricks supply to the builders who are idle.' Then I pulled them in again. And when we came to Egypt, I went to the king's gate: and his nobles told the king, 'There is come the man whom the king of Assyria has sent.' And the king commanded and gave me a place to reside in; and on the following day I came in before him and worshipped him and enquired after his health[2]. And the king answered and said unto me, 'What is thy name?' And I said to him, 'My name is Abiḳam: one of the contemptible ants of the kingdom.' And the king answered and said to me, 'Am I thus despised of thy lord, that he hath sent me a despised ant of his kingdom? Go, Abiḳam, to thy lodging, and come to me early in the morning.' Then the king commanded his nobles, 'On the morrow clothe yourselves in red,' and the king dressed himself in fine linen, and sat on his throne. And he commanded and I came into his presence, and he said to me, 'To what am I like, Abiḳam; and to what are my nobles like?' And

[1] Ut supra.

[2] Lit. asked after his peace.

I answered and said to him, 'My lord the king, thou art like unto Bel, and thy nobles are like unto his priests.' And again he said to me, 'Go to thy lodging, and come to me on the morrow.' And the king commanded his nobles, 'On the morrow clothe yourselves in robes of white linen,' and the king himself put on white and sat on his throne. And he commanded and I came into his presence: and he said to me, 'To what am I like, Abiḳam, and to what are my nobles like?' And I said to him, 'My lord the king, thou art like to the sun, and thy nobles to his rays.' And again he said to me, 'Get thee to thy lodging, and come to me to-morrow.' And again the king commanded his nobles, 'On the morrow clothe yourselves in black,' and the king put on crimson. And he commanded, and I came into his presence, and he said to me, 'To what am I like, Abiḳam; and to what are my nobles like?' And I said to him, 'My lord the king, thou art like to the moon, and thy nobles to the stars.' And again he said to me, 'Go to thy house: and come to me to-morrow.' And the king commanded his nobles, 'On the morrow dress in diverse and varied colours, and let the doors of the palace[1] be covered with red hangings.' And the king himself was robed in fine needlework[2]. And he commanded and I came into his presence: and he said to me, 'To what am I like, Abiḳam? and my nobles, to what are they like?' And I said to him, 'My lord the king, thou art like to the month Nisan, and thy nobles to its flowers.' Then the king said to me, 'The first time thou didst compare me to Bel, and my nobles to his priests. The second time thou hast compared me to the sun, and my nobles to its rays. The third time thou hast compared me to the moon, and my nobles to the stars. And the fourth time thou hast likened me to Nisan, and my nobles to the flowers thereof. And now tell me, Abiḳam, to what is *thy* lord like?' And I answered and said to him, 'Be it far from me, my lord the king, that I should

[1] Lit. temple: but as in Daniel, it means palace; cf. Dan. iv. 4, 'I Nebuchadnezzar was at rest in my house, and flourishing in my palace בהיכלי'; Dan. iv. 18, 'Then the king went to his palace היכלה.' Cf. also 1 Reg. xxi. 1; 2 Reg. xx. 18 &c.

[2] 'Dressed in tapestry.'

make mention of my lord Sennacherib, whilst thou art seated. My lord Sennacherib is like[1] [the God of Heaven] and his nobles to the lightnings that are in the clouds: for when he wills, he fashions the rain and the dew [and] the hail; and if he thunders, he restrains the sun from rising, and its rays from being seen; and he will restrain Bel from coming in and from going forth in the street, and his nobles from being seen; and he will hinder the moon from rising and the stars from appearing.' And when the king heard these things he was exceeding wroth, and said to me, 'By the life of thy lord, I adjure thee tell me what is thy name?' And I answered and said to him, 'I am Aḥiḳar the Secretary and Great Seal of Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh.' And the king said to me, 'Did I not certainly hear that thy lord had killed thee?' And I said to him, 'I am yet alive, my lord the king: and God saved me from something which my hands did not.' And the king said to me, 'Go, Aḥiḳar, to thy house, and come to me to-morrow, and tell me a word which I never heard nor any one of my nobles; and which was never heard in the city of my kingdom.'

Then I sat down and meditated in my heart and wrote a letter as follows:

'From Pharaoh, king of Egypt, to Sennacherib, king of Assyria and Nineveh, greeting.

'Kings have need of kings and brethren of brethren: and at this time my gifts are become scant, because silver is scarce in my treasury: command, therefore, to send me from thy treasury 900 talents of silver, and in a little while I will return them to their place.'

This letter, then, I folded and held it in my hands: and the king commanded and I came into his presence, and I said to him,

[1] An erasure has been made of two words, and these are now illegible. Perhaps the original text was 'the God of Heaven,' which was erased to make way for 'the idol Bel,' but this correction was a stupid one, seeing that Pharaoh has himself been compared to the great God Bel; hence perhaps a final erasure. The Arabic has 'my lord is the God of Heaven,' which is sufficiently audacious to invite correction. [Mrs Lewis has, by the use of reagent, brought up traces of 'our God Bel.']

'Perhaps in this letter there is a word that was never heard by thee.' And when I read it before the king and before his nobles, they cried out, as they were ordered by the king to do, and said, 'This has been heard by all of us, and it is so.' Whereupon I said to them, 'Behold, [in the case] there is a debt of 900 talents from Egypt to Assyria.' And when the king heard this, he marvelled. Then he said to me, 'I am planning to build a castle between earth and heaven. Its height from the earth shall be one thousand fathoms.' Then I brought out the young eagles and bound the ropes to their feet, and set the boys on their backs; and they were saying, 'Provide mud, mortar; [foreman, mix] tiles and bricks for the builders, because they are idle.' And when the king saw it, he was confounded. Then I, Aḥiḳar, took a switch and beat the king's nobles, till they all took to flight. Then the king was indignant with me, and said to me, 'Thou art gone clean mad, Aḥiḳar: who is able to carry up anything to these boys?' And I said to him, 'Concerning the affairs of Sennacherib my lord, say ye nothing; for if he had been at hand, he would have built a couple of castles in one day.' And the king said to me, 'Have done with the castle, Aḥiḳar, and go to thy lodging; and in the morning come to me.' And when it was morning, I came into his presence, and he said to me, 'Explain to me, Aḥiḳar, the following matter. The horse of thy lord neighs in Assyria, and our mares hear his voice here, and their foals miscarry.' Then I went forth from the king's presence, and commanded my servants to catch me a cat, and I whipped it in the streets of the city; and when the Egyptians saw it, they went and told the king that Aḥiḳar had lifted himself[1] up against our people and makes mock of us. 'For he has caught a cat and whips it in the streets of our city.' And the king sent for me and called me; and I came into his presence. And he said to me, 'In what way art thou insulting us?' and I answered and said to him, 'This cat has seriously damaged me in no slight matter; for a cock had been entrusted to me by my lord, whose voice was

[1] has acted wickedly(?)

extremely beautiful, and by the time that he crowed I understood that my lord wished for me, and I went to the gate of my lord. And in this past night this cat went to Assyria and tore off the head of this cock of mine and returned.' And the king answered and said to me, 'As far as I can see, Aḥiḳar, since thou art grown old thou art become stark mad. For it is 360 parasangs from here to Assyria; and how canst thou say that in a single night this cat went and cut off the head of the cock and came back?' Then I said to him, 'And if it is 360 parasangs from Egypt to Assyria, how do thy mares in this place hear the voice of the horse of my lord, and their foals miscarry?' And when the king heard this, he was sore vexed, and he said to me, 'Aḥiḳar, expound to me this riddle: A pillar has on its head twelve cedars; in every cedar there are thirty wheels, and in every wheel two cables, one white and one black.' And I answered and said to him, 'My lord the king, the ox-herds in our country understand this riddle that thou tellest. The pillar of which thou hast spoken to me is the year: the twelve cedars are the twelve months of the year; the thirty wheels are the thirty days of the month; the two cables, one white and one black, are the day and the night.'

Again he said to me, 'Twine me five cables from the sand of the river.' And I said to him, 'My lord the king, bid them bring me from thy treasury one rope of sand, and I will make one to match it.' Then he said to me, 'Unless thou do this, I will not give thee the Egyptian tribute.' Thereupon I sat down and calculated in my heart how I should do it. And I went out from the king's palace[1] and bored five holes in the eastern wall of the palace. And when the sun entered the holes I scattered sand in them, and the sun's path[2] began to appear as if [the sand] were twined in the holes. Then I said to the king; 'My lord, bid them take up these, and I will weave you others in their stead.' And when the king and his nobles saw it, they were amazed.

And again the king commanded to bring me an upper mill-stone that was broken: and he said to me, 'Aḥiḳar, sew up for us

[1] Lit. temple, ut supra. [2] Lit. furrow.

this broken millstone.' Then I went and brought a nether[1] millstone, and cast it down before the king and said to him, 'My lord the king, since I am a stranger here, and have not the tools of my craft with me, bid the cobblers cut me strips(?) from this lower millstone which is the fellow of the upper millstone; and forthwith I will sew it together.' And when the king heard it, he laughed and said, 'The day in which Aḥiḳar was born shall be blessed before the God of Egypt; and since I have seen thee alive, I will make it a great day and a feast.' Then he gave me the revenue of Egypt for three years, and straightway I returned and came to my lord the king Sennacherib: and he came forth to meet me and received me. And he made it a great day and set me at the head of his household: and he said to me, 'Ask what thou wilt, Aḥiḳar'; and I worshipped the king and said, 'Whatever thou willest to give me, bestow it upon Nabusemakh...[2]; because he gave me my life; and for myself, my lord, bid them give me my son Nadan, that I may teach him a further lesson. For he has forgotten my former teaching.' And the king commanded and gave me my son Nadan; and the king said to me, 'Go thy way, Aḥiḳar, and work thy will on thy son Nadan; for no man shall rescue his body from thy hands.' Thereupon I took Nadan my son, and brought him to my house; and I bound him with iron chains whose weight was twenty talents, and I fastened the chains in rings, and I fastened collars on his neck; and I struck him one thousand blows on the shoulders and a thousand and one on his loins[3]; and I put him in the porch of the door of my palace, and gave him bread by weight and water by measure. And I delivered him to my boy Nabuel to guard, and told my boy, 'Write down in a tablet whatever I say to my son Nadan, when I go in or come out.' And I answered and said to my son Nadan as follows:

My son, he who does not hear with his ears, they make him hear with the nape of his neck.

[1] Lit. the mortar of a millstone.

[2] Ut supra.

[3] Cf. the punishment of the disobedient servant in the Gospel, δαρήσεται πολλάς.

My son Nadan answered and said to me, Wherefore art thou so angry against thy son?

I answered and said to him, My son, I set thee on the throne of honour; and thou hast cast me down from my throne. And as for me, my righteousness[1] has saved me.

Thou hast been to me, my son, like a scorpion, which strikes at a rock. And the rock said to it, 'Thou hast struck at an unconcerned heart.' And it struck at a needle, and they say to it, 'Thou hast struck at a sting worse than thy own.'

My son, thou hast been to me like a gazelle that was standing over a sumach-tree and eating it. And the sumach-tree said to it, 'Why eatest thou me, seeing that they tan thy skin with me?' And the gazelle said, 'I eat thee in my life, and when I am dead they will pluck thee up by thy roots[2].'

My son, thou hast been to me like the man that threw a stone at the heaven, and it did not reach the heaven; but he incurred sin against God.

My son, thou hast been like the man who saw his companion shivering from cold, and took a pitcher of water and threw it over him.

My son, not when thou hadst killed me, wouldst thou have been able to stand in my place; for be well aware, my son, that even if the tail of the swine should grow to seven ells, he would never take the place of the horse: and even if his hair should become soft and woolly, he would never ride on the back of a free man[3].

My son, I said that thou shouldst be in my place; and thou shouldst acquire my house and my wealth, and inherit them. But God was not pleased therewith and has not heard thy voice.

My son, thou hast been to me as the lion that came upon an ass in the morning of the day and said to him, 'Welcome, my lord

[1] In the primitive sense of 'almsgiving'?

[2] Apparently the point of the story is missed, which is that the sumach-tree has its revenge on the gazelle; 'thy skin shall be dyed with my roots presently.'

[3] We should expect 'the free man would never ride on his back.'

Kyrios.' But the ass said to him, 'May the same welcome that thou givest me be the portion of him that tied me up last night; and did not make my halter fast, so that I had not seen thy face.'

My son, a snare was set[1] upon a dunghill, and there came a sparrow and looked at it and said, 'What doest thou here?' And the snare said, 'I am praying to God.' The sparrow said, 'And what is that in thy mouth?' The snare said, 'Bread for guests.' Then the sparrow drew near and took it, and the snare caught him by the neck. And the sparrow said, as he was being shaken, 'If this is thy bread for guests, may the God to whom thou prayest never listen to thy voice.'

My son, thou hast been to me as an ox that was bound with a lion; and the lion turned and crushed him.

My son, thou hast been to me like the weevil that is in the corn, which destroys kings' granaries, and is itself of no account.

My son, thou hast been to me like the pot, to which they made golden handles[2], but its bottom was not cleansed from blackness.

My son, thou hast been to me like a husbandman that sowed a field with twenty measures of barley; and when he reaped it, it made him twenty measures. And he said to it: 'What I scattered, I have gathered, but thou art shamed with thine evil name, in that thou hast made a bushel into a bushel[3]: and I, [how][4] am I to live?

My son, thou hast been to me like the.... bird that could not save himself from death, and by his voice slaughtered his companions[5].

My son, thou hast been to me like the buck that led his companions into the slaughter house; and yet he did not save his own life.

[1] A Syriac play of words between ܨܒܐ = *disposuit laqueos* and ܡܨܒܐ which follows.

[2] Lit. ears.

[3] Cf. Matt. xxv. 24—27.

[4] Adding ܐܦ ܠܐ to text.

[5] Reading ܡܫܕ.

My son, thou hast been to me like the dog that came to the potters' oven to warm himself, and after he was warm rose up to bark at them.

My son, thou hast been to me like the swine that had been to the baths, and when it saw a muddy ditch, went down and washed in it, and cried to his companions, 'Come and wash.'

My son, my finger is upon thy mouth, and thy finger is upon my eyes. Why have I brought thee up, thou jackal, that thy eyes look thus upon apples?

My son, the dog that eats of his hunting will become the portion of wolves: and the hand that is not industrious shall be cut off from its shoulder: and the eye in which there is no vision the raven shall pluck it out.

What good hast thou done me, my son, that I remembered thee and that my soul had comfort in thee?[1]

My son, if the gods steal, by whom shall they make them swear? And a lion that steals a piece of land, how will he sit down and eat it?

My son, I caused thee to behold the face of the king, and brought thee to great honour: and thou hast chosen to do me evil.

My son, thou hast been to me like the tree that said to its woodcutters, 'If there had not been somewhat from me in your hands, ye had not fallen upon me.'

My son, thou hast been to me like the young swallows which fell out of their nest; and a cat caught them and said to them, 'If it had not been for me, great evil would have befallen you.' They answered and said to her, 'Is that why thou hast put us in thy mouth?'

My son, thou hast been to me like the cat, to which they say, 'Leave off thy thievish ways, and thou shalt go out from and come in to the king's palace, according to thy heart's wish.' And she answered and said, 'If I should have eyes of silver and ears of gold, I will not leave off my thieving.'

[1] We should have expected, 'that I might remember thee and that my soul might have comfort in thee.'

My son, thou hast been to me like a serpent that was mounted on a thornbush and thrown into a river; and a wolf saw them and said to them: 'Bad rides on bad, and worse than either carries them off.' The serpent said to him, 'If thou hadst been here, thou shouldst have paid the reckoning for the she-goats and their young ones.'

My son, I have seen a she-goat brought into the slaughter house, and because its time was not yet come, it returned to its place and saw its children and its children's children.

My son, I have seen colts that have become slayers of their mothers.

My son, I fed thee with every pleasant meat: and thou, my son, hast fed me with bread of ashes[1], and I was not satisfied therewith.

My son, I salved thee with sweet salves, and thou, my son, hast fouled my body with dust.

My son, I trained up thy stature like a cedar, but thou hast humbled me in my life, and hast made me drunken with thy wickedness.

My son, I raised thee like a tower and said, 'If the enemy should come upon me, I will go up and dwell in thee': and thou, when thou sawest my enemy, didst bow before him.

My son, thou hast been to me like the mole that came up out of the earth that it might get possession[2] of the sun, because he had no eyes; and an eagle saw him and struck him and carried him off.

My son Nadan answered and said to me, 'My father Aḥiḳar, such things be far from thee: do to me according to thy mercy: for God also forgives the fault of man: and thou also, forgive me this my folly: and I will tend thy horses and feed thy pigs which are in thy house, and I shall be called evil: but thou, devise not evil against me.'

I answered and said to him, My son, thou hast been to me like

[1] Lit. dust.

[2] Lit. receive. But perhaps the original was 'that he might see the sun, though he had no eyes.'

that palm tree that stood by a river, and cast all its fruit into the river, and when its lord came to cut it down, it said to him, 'Let me alone this year, and I will bring thee forth carobs.' And its lord said unto it, 'Thou hast not been industrious in what is thine own, and how wilt thou be industrious in what is not thine own?'

My son, they say to the wolf, 'Why dost thou follow after the sheep?' He said to them, 'Their dust is exceeding good for my eyes.'[1] Again they brought him into the school house: the master said to him, 'Aleph, Beth'; the wolf said, 'Kid, Lamb.'

My son, I taught thee that there is a God: and thou risest up against good servants, and beatest those that have not sinned; and like as God has kept me alive on account of my righteousness so hath He destroyed thee for thy works.

My son, they set the head of the ass over a dish at the table, and he rolled off and fell in the dust. And they say, 'He spites himself; he does not receive honour.'

My son, thou hast verified the proverb, which is current: 'Call him whom thou hast begotten, thy son, and him whom thou hast purchased, thy slave.'

My son, the proverb is true that is current: 'Take thy sister's son under thy arm and dash him against a stone.'

But God is He that hath kept me alive, and He will judge between us.

Thereat Nadan swelled up like a bag and died. And to him that doeth good, what is good shall be recompensed: and to him that doeth evil, what is evil shall be rewarded. And he that diggeth a pit for his neighbour, filleth it with his own stature. And to God be glory, and His mercy be upon us. Amen.

The proverbs of Aḥiḳar the sage and secretary of Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh are ended.

[1] The Amir of Afghanistan quotes this saying in the first number of the *Monthly Review* p. 38: 'One of the poets says rightly: a lover seems to find pleasure in the pursuit of his ambitions, as the dust that rises from the feet of the flock is a salve to the eyes of the wolf pursuing the flock.'

J. R. H.

AETHIOPIC FRAGMENTS OF THE SAYINGS OF AḤIḲAR

The following is the translation of the fifteen sayings of Aḥiḳar, published by Cornill in his *Maṣḥafa Falâsfâ Ṭabîbân*, or *Book of the Wise Philosophers*. These sayings are taken from two MSS., one at Frankfort and the other at Tübingen. They apparently come from an Arabic collection of ethical maxims, and not from a complete story of Aḥiḳar. We should have inferred that the precepts were in separate circulation in Arabic, from the title of a MS. in the Vatican described by Assemani which is said to contain *Hicari philosophi Mosulani praecepta*.

Instruction of Ḥaiḳar the Wise.

He spake as follows:

1. Hear, my son, and keep in remembrance my discourse, so that thou rememberest God the High and the Mighty.

My son, if thou hearest a discourse, hide it in thy heart and disclose it not to thy neighbour, that it become not to thee as a coal and burn thy tongue, and bring derision upon thee and make thee hateful to God.

2. My son, make fair thy discourse and thy behaviour; for the wagging of a dog's tail gives him bread, but his jaw brings him stones.

3. My son, do not tarry with him, in whom there is strife: for strife brings controversy: and strife gives for an inheritance revengefulness and murder.

4. My son, if a house could be built by talk without action, an ass would build two houses a day.

5. My son, it is better to haul stones with a wise and understanding man, than to drink wine with a fool.

6. My son, as long as there are shoes on thy feet, tread down the thorns, and level the way for thy children and thy children's children.

7. My son, if the rich man eats a snake, they say of him, 'He seeks a medicine therein'; if, however, the poor man eats it, they say of him, 'It was from hunger.'

8. My son, if there come to thee a slenderer and poorer man than thyself, rise up to receive him.

9. My son, the wicked falls and rises not again; but the good man falls and rises immediately and remains in his condition.

10. My son, cease not to beat thy son; for the chastisement of a child is good for it, even as dung makes the land good; and as the land which is not rugged and on which there is grass delights the cattle, so doth a well-brought up son delight his father.

11. My son, keep thy son in curb, as long as he is small, that he may not grow up and thou have no more control over him, and be fain to blush over his corrupt behaviour.

12. A fair repute is better than a fair appearance; for the fair repute abides for ever, but the fair appearance and form pass away.

13. My son, it is better to stumble with the foot than with the tongue; and bring no discourse out of thy mouth, before thou hast entered into counsel with thine own self.

14. My son, if the course of water should turn backwards, and if birds should fly without wings, and if the raven should become white as snow, then may a fool become wise.

15. My son, if thou wilt be wise, refrain thy tongue from lying and thy hands from stealing.

J. R. H.

THE STORY OF HAIQÂR AND NADAN

THE ARABIC VERSION

f. 81 b In the name of God the Creator, the Living One, the Source of Reason, we hereby begin with the help of the Most High God[1] and His best guidance, to write the story of Haiqâr the Wise, Vizier of Sennacherib the King, and of Nadan, sister's son to Haiqâr the Sage.

There was a Vizier in the days of King Sennacherib, son of Sarhadum, king of Assyria and Nineveh, a wise man named Haiqâr, and he was vizier of the king Sennacherib. He had a fine fortune and much goods, and he was skilful, wise, a philosopher, [in] knowledge, [in] opinion and [in] government, and he had married sixty women, and had built a castle for each of them. But with it all he had no child by any of these women, who might be his heir. And he was very sad on account of this, and one day he assembled the astrologers and the learned men and the wizards and explained to them his condition and the matter of his barrenness. And they said to him, "Go, sacrifice to the gods and beseech them that perchance they may provide thee with a boy." And he did as they told him and offered sacrifices to the idols, and besought them and implored them with request and entreaty. And they answered him not one word. And he went away sorrowful and dejected, departing with a pain at his heart. And he returned, and implored the Most High God, and believed, beseeching Him with a burning in his heart, saying, "O Most High
f. 82 a God, O Creator of the Heavens and of the earth, O Creator of all created things! I beseech Thee to give me a boy, that I may be

[1] Literally "God, may He be exalted!" *passim.*

consoled by him, that he may be present at my death, that he may close my eyes, and that he may bury me." Then there came to him a voice saying, "Inasmuch as thou hast relied first of all on graven images, and hast offered sacrifices to them, for this reason thou shalt remain childless thy life long. But take Nadan thy sister's son, and make him thy child and teach him thy learning and thy good breeding, and at thy death he shall bury thee." Thereupon he took Nadan his sister's son, who was a little suckling. And he handed him over to eight wet-nurses, that they might suckle him and bring him up. And they brought him up with good food and gentle training and silken clothing, and purple and crimson. And he was seated upon couches of silk. And when Nadan grew big and walked, shooting up like a tall cedar, he taught him good manners and writing and science and philosophy. And after many days King Sennacherib looked at Haiqâr and saw that he had grown very old, and moreover he said to him, f. 82 b
"O my honoured friend, the skilful, the trusty, the wise, the governor, my secretary, my vizier, my Chancellor[1] and director; verily thou art grown very old and weighted with years; and thy departure from this world must be near. Tell me who shall have a place in my service after thee." And Haiqâr said to him, "O my lord, may thy head live for ever! There is Nadan my sister's son, I have made him my child. And I have brought him up and taught him my wisdom and my knowledge." And the king said to him, "O Haiqâr! bring him to my presence, that I may see him: and if I find him suitable, put him in thy place; and thou shalt go thy way, to take a rest and to live the remainder of thy life in sweet repose." Then Haiqâr went and presented Nadan his sister's son. And he did homage and wished him power and honour. And he looked at him and admired him and rejoiced in him and said to Haiqâr: "Is this thy son, O Haiqâr? I pray that God may preserve him. And as thou hast served me and my father Sarhadum so may this boy of thine serve me and fulfil my undertakings, my needs, and my business, so that f. 83 a

[1] Literally "the sealer of my secrets," *passim*.

I may honour him and make him powerful for thy sake." And Haiqâr did obeisance to the king and said to him, "May thy head live, O my lord the king, for ever! I seek from thee that thou mayest be patient[1] with my boy Nadan and forgive his mistakes that he may serve thee as it is fitting." Then the king swore to him that he would make him the greatest of his favourites, and the most powerful of his friends, and that he should be with him in all honour and respect. And he kissed his hands and bade him farewell. And he took Nadan his sister's son with him and seated him in a parlour and set about teaching him night and day till he had crammed him with wisdom and knowledge more than with bread and water.

Thus he taught him, saying:

1. O my son! hear my speech and follow my advice and remember what I say.

2. O my son! if thou hearest a word, let it die in thy heart, and reveal it not to another, lest it become a live coal and burn thy tongue and cause a pain in thy body, and thou gain a reproach, and art shamed before God and man.

3. O my son! if thou hast heard a report, spread it not; and
f. 83 b if thou hast seen something, tell it not.

4. O my son! make thy eloquence easy to the listener, and be not hasty to return an answer.

5. O my son! when thou hast heard anything, hide it not.

6. O my son! loose not a sealed knot, nor untie it, and seal not a loosened knot.

7. O my son! covet not outward beauty, for it wanes and passes away, but an honourable remembrance lasts for aye.

8. O my son! let not a silly woman deceive thee with her speech, lest thou die the most miserable of deaths, and she entangle thee in the net till thou art ensnared.

9. O my son! desire not a woman bedizened with dress and

[1] It is strange to find a great scholar like Burton taking this idiom literally and translating "extend the wings of thy spirit." It is either a Syriacism or a suggestion of אֶרֶךְ רוּחַ.

with ointments, who is despicable and silly in her soul. Woe to thee if thou bestow on her anything that is thine, or commit to her what is in thine hand and she entice thee into sin, and God be wroth with thee.

10. O my son! be not like the almond-tree, for it brings forth leaves before all the trees, and edible fruit after them all, but be like the mulberry-tree, which brings forth edible fruit before all the trees, and leaves after them all.

11. O my son! bend thy head low down, and soften thy voice, and be courteous, and walk in the straight path, and be not foolish. And raise not thy voice when thou laughest, [for if it were by a loud voice that a house was built, the ass would build many houses every day;] (and if it were by dint of strength that the plough were driven, the plough would never be removed from under the shoulders of the camels.)

Salhani p. 4

f. 84 a B.M. MS. f. 185 a

12. O my son! the removing of stones with a wise man is better than the drinking of wine with a sorry man.

13. O my son! pour out thy wine on the tombs of the just, and drink not with ignorant, contemptible people.

14. O my son! cleave to wise men who fear God and be like them, and go not near the ignorant, lest thou become like him, and learn his ways.

15. O my son! when thou hast got thee a comrade or a friend, try him, and afterwards make him a comrade and a friend; and do not praise him without a trial; and do not spoil thy speech with a man who lacks wisdom.

16. O my son! while a shoe stays on thy foot, walk with it on the thorns, and make a road for thy son, and for thy household and thy children, and make thy ship taut before she goes on the sea and its waves and sinks and cannot be saved.

17. [O my son! if the rich man eat a snake, they say "It is by his wisdom," and if a poor man eat it, the people say "From his hunger."]

Salhani p. 4

18. O my son! be content with thy daily bread and thy goods, and covet not what is another's.

19. O my son! be not neighbour to the fool, and eat not bread with him, and rejoice not in the calamities of thy neighbours. If thine enemy wrong thee, shew him kindness.

f. 84 b 20. O my son! a man who fears God do thou fear him and honour him.

21. O my son! the ignorant man falls and stumbles, and the wise man, even if he stumbles, he is not shaken, and even if he falls he gets up quickly, and if he is sick, he can take care of his life. But as for the ignorant, stupid man, for his disease there is no drug.

22. O my son! if a man approach thee who is inferior to thyself, go forward to meet him, and remain standing, and if he cannot recompense thee, his Lord will recompense thee for him.

23. O my son! spare not to beat thy son, for the drubbing of thy son is like manure to the garden, and like tying the mouth of a purse, and like the tethering of beasts, and like the bolting of the door.

24. O my son! restrain thy son from wickedness, and teach him manners before he rebels against thee and brings thee into contempt amongst the people and thou hang thy head in the streets and the assemblies and thou be punished for the evil of his wicked deeds.

25. O my son! get thee a fat ox with a foreskin, and an ass great with its hoofs, and get not an ox with large horns, nor make friends with a tricky man, nor get a quarrelsome slave, nor a thievish handmaid, for everything which thou committest to them they will ruin.

f. 85 a 26. O my son! let not thy parents curse thee, and the Lord be pleased with them; for it hath been said, "He who despiseth his father or his mother let him die the death (I mean the death of sin); and he who honoureth his parents shall prolong his days and his life and shall see all that is good."

27. O my son! walk not on the road without weapons, for thou knowest not when the foe may meet thee, so that thou mayest be ready for him.

28. O my son! be not like a bare, leafless tree that doth not

grow, but be like a tree covered with its leaves and its boughs; for the man who has neither wife nor children is a disgrace in the world and is hated by them, like a leafless and fruitless tree.

29. O my son! be like a fruitful tree on the roadside, whose fruit is eaten by all who pass by, and the beasts of the desert rest under its shade and eat of its leaves.

30. O my son! every sheep that wanders from its path and its companions becomes food for the wolf.

31. O my son! say not "My Lord is a fool and I am wise," and relate not the speech of ignorance and folly, lest thou be despised by him.

32. O my son! be not one of those servants, to whom their lords say, "Get away from us," but be one of those to whom they say, "Approach and come near to us." f. 85 b

33. (O my son! caress not thy slave in the presence of his companion, for thou knowest not which of them shall be of most value to thee in the end.) B.M. MS. f. 187 b

34. O my son! be not afraid of thy Lord who created thee, lest He be silent to thee.

35. O my son! make thy speech fair and sweeten thy tongue and permit not thy companion to tread on thy foot, lest he tread another time on thy breast.

36. O my son! if thou beat a wise man with a word of wisdom, it will lurk in his breast like a subtle sense of shame; but if thou drub the ignorant with a stick he will neither understand nor hear.

37. O my son! if thou send a wise man for thy needs, do not give him many orders, for he will do thy business as thou desirest; and if thou send a fool, do not order him, but go thyself and do thy business, for if thou order him, he will not do what thou desirest. If they send thee on business, hasten to fulfil it quickly.

38. O my son! make not an enemy of a man stronger than thyself, for he will take thy measure[1], and his revenge on thee.

39. O my son! make trial of thy son, and of thy servant, before thou committest thy belongings to them, lest they make

[1] Literally "he will weigh thee."

f. 86a away with them; for he who hath a full hand is called wise, even if he be stupid and ignorant, and he who hath an empty hand is called poor, ignorant, even if he be the prince of sages.

40. O my son! I have eaten a colocynth, and swallowed aloes[1], and I have found nothing more bitter than poverty and scarcity.

41. O my son! teach thy son frugality and hunger, that he may do well in the management of his household.

42. O my son! teach not to the ignorant the language of wise men, for it will be burdensome to him.

43. O my son! display not thy condition to thy friend, lest thou be despised by him.

44. O my son! the blindness of the heart is more grievous than the blindness of the eyes, for the blindness of the eye may be guided little by little, but the blindness of the heart is not guided, and it leaves the straight path, and goes in a crooked way.

45. O my son! the stumbling of a man with his foot is better than the stumbling of a man with his tongue.

46. O my son! a friend who is near is better than a more excellent brother who is far away.

47. O my son! beauty fades but learning lasts, and the world wanes and becomes vain, but a good name neither becomes vain nor wanes.

48. O my son! the man who hath no rest, his death were
f. 68b better than his life; and the sound of weeping is better than the sound of singing; for sorrow and weeping, if the fear of God be in
B.M. MS. f. 189a them, are better than the sound of singing and rejoicing.

49. (O my child! the thigh of a frog in thy hand is better than a goose in the pot of thy neighbour; and a sheep near thee is better than an ox far away; and a sparrow in thy hand is better than a thousand sparrows flying; and poverty which gathers is better than the scattering of much provision; and a living fox is better than a dead lion; and a pound of wool is better than a pound of wealth, I mean of gold and silver; for the gold and the silver are hidden and covered up in the earth, and are not seen; but the

[1] Or "myrrh."

wool stays in the markets and it is seen, and it is a beauty to him who wears it.)

50. O my son! a small fortune is better than a scattered fortune.

51. O my son! a living dog is better than a dead poor man.

52. O my son! a poor man who does right is better than a rich man who is dead in sins.

53. O my son! keep a word in thy heart, and it shall be much to thee, and beware lest thou reveal the secret of thy friend.

54. O my son! let not a word issue from thy mouth till thou hast taken counsel with thy heart. And stand not betwixt persons quarrelling, because from a bad word there comes a quarrel, and from a quarrel there comes war, and from war there comes fighting, and thou wilt be forced to bear witness; but run from thence and rest thyself.

55. O my son! withstand not a man stronger than thyself, but get thee a patient spirit, and endurance and an upright conduct, for there is nothing more excellent than that.

56. O my son! hate not thy first friend, for the second one may not last. f. 87 a

57. O my son! visit the poor in his affliction, and speak of him in the Sultan's presence, and do thy diligence to save him from the mouth of the lion.

58. O my son! rejoice not in the death of thine enemy, for after a little while thou shalt be his neighbour, and him who mocks thee do thou respect and honour and be beforehand with him in greeting.

59. O my son! if water would stand still in heaven, and a black crow become white, and myrrh grow sweet as honey, then ignorant men and fools might understand and become wise.

60. O my son! if thou desire to be wise, restrain thy tongue from lying, and thy hand from stealing, and thine eyes from beholding evil; then thou wilt be called wise.

61. O my son! let the wise man beat thee with a rod, but let not the fool anoint thee with sweet salve. Be humble in thy youth and thou shalt be honoured in thine old age.

62. O my son! withstand not a man in the days of his power, nor a river in the days of its flood.

63. O my son! be not hasty in the wedding of a wife, for if it turns out well, she will say, "My lord, make provision for me"; and if it turns out ill, she will rate at him who was the cause of it.

B.M. MS. f. 190 b

64. (O my son! whosoever is elegant in his dress, he is the same in his speech; and he who has a mean appearance in his dress, he also is the same in his speech.)

65. O my son! if thou hast committed a theft, make it known to the Sultan, and give him a share of it, that thou mayest be

f. 87 b

delivered from him, for otherwise thou wilt endure bitterness.

66. O my son! make a friend of the man whose hand is satisfied and filled, and make no friend of the man whose hand is closed and hungry.

There are four things in which neither the king nor his army can be secure: oppression by the vizier, and bad government, and perversion of the will, and tyranny over the subject; and four things which cannot be hidden: the prudent, and the foolish, and the rich, and the poor.

Salhani p. 5

Thus spake Haiqâr, and when he had finished these injunctions and proverbs to Nadan, his sister's son, [he imagined that he would] keep them all, and he knew not that instead of that he was displaying to him weariness and contempt and mockery.

Thereafter Haiqâr sat still in his house and delivered over to Nadan all his goods, and the slaves, and the handmaidens, and the horses, and the cattle, and everything else that he had possessed and gained; and the power of bidding and of forbidding remained in the hand of Nadan; and Haiqâr sat at rest in his house, and every now and then Haiqâr went and paid his respects to the king, and returned home. Now when Nadan perceived that

f. 88 a

the power of bidding and of forbidding was in his own hand, he despised the position of Haiqâr and scoffed at him, and set about blaming him whenever he appeared, saying, "My uncle Haiqâr is in his dotage, and he knows nothing now"; and he began to beat the slaves and the handmaidens, and to sell the horses and the

camels and be spendthrift with all that his uncle Haiqâr had owned.

And when Haiqâr saw that he had no compassion on his servants nor on his household, he arose and chased him from his house, and sent to inform the king that he had scattered his possessions and his provision.

And the king arose and called Nadan and said to him: "Whilst Haiqâr remains in health, no one shall rule over his goods nor over his household, nor over his possessions." And the hand of Nadan was lifted off from his uncle Haiqâr and from all his goods, and in the meantime he went neither in nor out, nor did he greet him.

Thereupon Haiqâr repented him of his toil with Nadan, his sister's son, and he continued to be very sorrowful. And Nadan had a younger brother named Benûzardân, so Haiqâr took him to himself in place of Nadan, and brought him up and honoured him with the utmost honour. And he delivered over to him all that he possessed, and made him governor of his house. f. 88 b

Now when Nadan perceived what had happened he was seized with envy and jealousy, and he began to complain to every one who questioned him, and to mock his uncle Haiqâr, saying: "My uncle has chased me from his house, and has preferred my brother to me, but if the Most High God give me the power, I shall bring upon him the misfortune[1] of being killed." And Nadan continued to meditate as to the stumbling-block he might contrive for him. And after a while Nadan turned it over in his mind, and wrote a letter to Achish, son of Shah the Wise, king of Persia, saying thus:

"Peace and health and might and honour from Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh, and from his vizier and his secretary Haiqâr unto thee, O great king! Let there be peace between thee and me. And when this letter reaches thee, if thou wilt arise and go quickly to the plain of Nisrîn[2], and to Assyria and Nineveh,

[1] Literally "cast him into the misfortune."

[2] *Nisrîn* may either mean "the eagles," or "the wild rose." I prefer the latter, because the usual plural of *nasr* is *nusûr* or *ansur*.

I will deliver up the kingdom to thee without war and without battle-array."

And he wrote also another letter in the name of Haiqâr to Pharaoh king of Egypt. "Let there be peace between thee and me, O mighty king! If at the time of this letter reaching thee
f. 89 a thou wilt arise and go to Assyria and Nineveh to the plain of Nisrîn, I will deliver up to thee the kingdom without war and without fighting." And the writing of Nadan was like to the writing of his uncle Haiqâr.

Then he folded the two letters, and sealed them with the seal of his uncle Haiqâr; they were nevertheless in the king's palace. Then he went and wrote a letter likewise from the king to his uncle Haiqâr. "Peace and health to my Vizier, my Secretary, my Chancellor, Haiqâr. O Haiqâr, when this letter reaches thee, assemble all the soldiers who are with thee, and let them be perfect in clothing and in numbers, and bring them to me on the fifth day in the plain of Nisrîn, and when thou shalt see me there coming towards thee, haste and make the army move against me as an enemy who would fight with me, for I have with me the ambassadors of Pharaoh king of Egypt, that they may see the strength of our army and may fear us, for they are our enemies and they hate us."

Then he sealed the letter and sent it to Haiqâr by one of the king's servants. And he took the other letter which he had written and spread it before the king and read it to him and
f. 89 b shewed him the seal. And when the king heard what was in the letter he was perplexed with a great perplexity and was wroth with a great and fierce wrath and said, "Ah, I have shewn my wisdom! what have I done to Haiqâr that he has written these letters to my enemies? Is this my recompense from him for my benefits to him?" And Nadan said to him, "Be not grieved, O King! nor be wroth, but let us go to the Plain of Nisrîn and see if the tale be true or not." Then Nadan arose on the fifth day and took the king and the soldiers and the vizier, and they went to the desert to the Plain of Nisrîn. And the king looked, and lo! Haiqâr and

the army were set in array. And when Haiqâr saw that the king was there, he approached and signalled to the army to move as in war and to fight in array against the king as it had been found in the letter, he not knowing what a pit Nadan had digged for him. And when the king saw the act of Haiqâr he was seized with anxiety and terror and perplexity, and was wroth with a great wrath. And Nadan said to him, "Hast thou seen, O my lord the king! what this wretch has done? but be not thou wroth and be not grieved nor pained, but go to thy house and sit on thy throne, and f. 90 a
I will bring Haiqâr to thee bound and chained with chains, and I will chase away thine enemy from thee without toil."

And the king returned to his throne, being provoked about Haiqâr, and did nothing concerning him. And Nadan went to Haiqâr and said to him, "W'allah, O my uncle! The king verily rejoiceth in thee with great joy and thanks thee for having done what he commanded thee. And now he hath sent me to thee that thou mayest dismiss the soldiers to their duties[1] and come thyself to him with thy hands bound behind thee, and thy feet chained, that the ambassadors of Pharaoh may see this, and that the king may be feared by them and by their king." Then answered Haiqâr and said, "To hear is to obey." And he arose straightway and bound his hands behind him, and chained his feet. And Nadan took him and went with him to the king. And when Haiqâr entered the king's presence he did obeisance before him on the ground, and wished for power and perpetual life to the king. Then said the king, "O Haiqâr, my Secretary, the Governor of my affairs, my Chancellor, the ruler of my State, tell me what evil have I done to thee that thou hast rewarded me by this ugly f. 90 b
deed." Then they shewed him the letters in his writing and with his seal. And when Haiqâr saw this, his limbs trembled and his tongue was tied at once, and he was unable to speak a word from fear; but he hung his head towards the earth and was dumb. And when the king saw this, he felt certain that the thing was from him, and he straightway arose and commanded them to

[1] Literally "to the way of their path."

kill Haiqâr, and to strike his neck with the sword outside of the city. Then Nadan screamed and said, "O Haiqâr, O black-face! what avails thee thy meditation or thy power in the doing of this deed to the king?"

Thus saith the story-teller. And the name of the swordsman was Ibn Samîk. And the king said unto him, "O swordsman! arise, go, cleave the neck of Haiqâr at the door of his house, and cast away his head from his body a hundred cubits." Then Haiqâr knelt before the king, and said, "Let my lord the king live for ever! and if thou desire to slay me, let thy wish be [fulfilled]; and I know that I am not guilty, but the wicked man has to give an account of his wickedness; nevertheless, O my lord the king! I
f. 91a beg of thee and of thy friendship, permit the swordsman to give my body to my slaves, that they may bury me, and let thy slave be thy sacrifice."

The king arose and commanded the swordsman to do with him according to his desire. And he straightway commanded his servants to take Haiqâr and the swordsman and to go with him naked that they might slay him. And when Haiqâr knew for certain that he was to be slain he sent to his wife and said to her, "Come out and meet me and let there be with thee a thousand young virgins, and dress them in gowns of purple and silk that they may weep for me before my death. And prepare a table for the swordsman and for his servants. And mingle plenty of wine, that they may drink."

And she did all that he commanded her. And she was very wise, clever and prudent. And she united all possible courtesy and learning.

And when the army of the king and the swordsman arrived they found the table set in order, and the wine and the luxurious viands, and they began eating and drinking till they were gorged and drunken.

Then Haiqâr took the swordsman aside apart from the company and said, "O Abu Samîk, dost thou not know that when
f. 91b Sarhadum the king, the father of Sennacherib, wanted to kill thee,

I took thee and hid thee in a certain place till the king's anger subsided and he asked for thee? And when I brought thee into his presence he rejoiced in thee: and now remember the kindness I did thee. And I know that the king will repent him about me and will be wroth with a great wrath about my execution. For I am not guilty, and it shall be when thou shalt present me before him in his palace, thou shalt meet with great good fortune, and know that Nadan my sister's son has deceived me and has done this bad deed to me, and the king will repent of having slain me; and now I have a cellar in the garden of my house, and no one knows of it. Hide me in it with the knowledge of my wife. And I have a slave in prison who deserves to be killed. Bring him out and dress him in my clothes, and command the servants when they are drunk to slay him. They will not know who it is they are killing. And cast away his head a hundred cubits from his body, and give his body to my slaves that they may bury it. And thou shalt have laid up a great treasure with me." And then the swordsman did as Haiqâr had commanded him, and he went to the king f. 92 a and said to him, "May thy head live for ever!" Then Haiqâr's wife let down to him in the hiding-place every week what sufficed for him, and no one knew of it but herself. And the story was reported and repeated and spread abroad in every place of how Haiqâr the Sage had been slain and was dead, and all the people of that city mourned for him. And they wept and said: "Alas for thee, O Haiqâr! and for thy learning and thy courtesy! How sad about thee and about thy knowledge! Where can another like thee be found? and where can there be a man so intelligent, so learned, so skilled in ruling as to resemble thee that he may fill thy place?"

But the king was repenting about Haiqâr, and his repentance availed him nought. Then he called for Nadan and said unto him, "Go and take thy friends with thee and make a mourning and a weeping for thy uncle Haiqâr, and lament for him as the custom is, doing honour to his memory." But when Nadan, the foolish, the ignorant, the hard-hearted, went to the house of his uncle, he neither wept nor sorrowed nor wailed, but assembled heartless

and dissolute people and set about eating and drinking. And
f. 92 b Nadan began to seize the maid-servants and the slaves belonging to Haiqâr, and bound them and tortured them and drubbed them with a sore drubbing. And he did not respect the wife of his uncle, she who had brought him up like her own boy, but wanted her to fall into sin with him. But Haiqâr had been cast into the hiding-place, and he heard the weeping of his slaves and his neighbours, and he praised the Most High God, the Merciful One, and gave thanks, and he always prayed and besought the Most High God. And the swordsman came from time to time to Haiqâr whilst he was in the midst of the hiding-place: and Haiqâr came and entreated him. And he comforted him and wished him deliverance.

And when the story was reported in other countries that Haiqâr the Sage had been slain, all the kings were grieved and despised king Sennacherib, and they lamented over Haiqâr the solver of riddles. And when the king of Egypt had made sure that Haiqâr was slain, he arose straightway and wrote a letter to king Sennacherib reminding him in it "of the peace and the health
f. 93 a and the might and the honour which we wish specially for thee, my beloved brother, king Sennacherib. I have been desiring to build a castle between the heaven and the earth, and I want thee to send me a wise, clever man from thyself to build it for me, and to answer me all my questions, and that I may have the taxes[1] and the custom duties of Assyria for three years." Then he sealed the letter and sent it to Sennacherib. He took it and read it and gave it to his viziers and to the nobles of his kingdom, and they were perplexed and ashamed, and he was wroth with a great wrath, and was puzzled about how he should act. Then he assembled the old men and the learned men and the wise men and the philosophers, and the diviners and the astrologers, and every one who was in his country, and read them the letter and said unto them, "Who amongst you will go to Pharaoh king of Egypt and answer him his questions?" And they said unto him, "O our lord the king!

[1] I.e. taxes in kind, agricultural produce. For this rendering of the Arabic word see Dozy vol. II p. 345.

know thou that there is none in thy kingdom who is acquainted with these questions except Haiqâr, thy vizier and secretary. But as for us, we have no skill in this, unless it be Nadan, his sister's f. 93 b
son, for he taught him all his wisdom and learning and knowledge. Call him to thee, perchance he may untie this hard knot." Then the king called Nadan and said unto him, "Look at this letter and understand what is in it." And when Nadan read it, he said, "O my lord! who is able to build a castle between the heaven and the earth?"

And when the king heard the speech of Nadan he sorrowed with a great and sore sorrow, and stepped down from his throne and sat on the ashes, and began to weep and wail over Haiqâr, saying, "O my grief! O Haiqâr, who didst know the secrets and the riddles! woe is me for thee, O Haiqâr! O teacher of my country and ruler of my kingdom, where shall I find thy like? O Haiqâr, O teacher of my country, where shall I turn for thee? woe is me for thee! how did I destroy thee! and I listened to the talk of a stupid, ignorant boy without knowledge, without religion, without manliness. Ah! and again Ah for myself! who can give thee to me just for once, or bring me word that Haiqâr is alive? and I would give him the half of my kingdom. Whence is this to me? Ah Haiqâr! that I might see thee just for once, that I might take my fill of gazing at thee, and delighting in thee. Ah! O my grief for thee to all time! O Haiqâr, how have I killed thee! and I tarried not in thy case till I had seen the end of the matter." And f. 94 a
the king went on weeping night and day. Now when the swordsman saw the wrath of the king and his sorrow for Haiqâr, his heart was softened towards him, and he approached into his presence and said unto him: "O my lord! command thy servants to cut off my head." Then said the king to him: "Woe to thee, Abu Samîk, what is thy fault?" And the swordsman said unto him, "O my master! every slave who acts contrary to the word of his master is killed[1], and I have acted contrary to thy command." Then the king said unto him, "Woe unto thee, O Abu Samîk, in

[1] B.M. MS. "is crucified."

what hast thou acted contrary to my command?" And the swordsman said unto him, "O my lord! thou didst command me to kill Haiqâr, and I knew that thou wouldst repent thee concerning him, and that he had been wronged, and I hid him in a certain place, and I killed one of his slaves, and he is now safe in the cistern, and if thou command me I will bring him to thee." And the king said unto him, "Woe to thee, O Abu Samîk! thou hast mocked me and I am thy lord." And the swordsman said unto him, "Nay, but by the life of thy head, O my lord! Haiqâr is safe and alive." And when the king heard that saying, he felt sure of the matter, and his head swam[1], and he fainted from joy, and he commanded [them] to bring [Haiqâr][2]. And he said to the
f. 94b swordsman, "O trusty servant! if thy speech be true, I would fain enrich thee, and exalt thy dignity above that of all thy friends." And the swordsman went along rejoicing till he came to Haiqâr's house. And he opened the door of the hiding-place, and went down and found Haiqâr sitting, praising God, and thanking Him. And he shouted to him, saying, "O Haiqâr, I bring the greatest of joy! and happiness, and delight!" And Haiqâr said unto him, "What is the news, O Abu Samîk?" And he told him all about Pharaoh from the beginning to the end. Then he took him and went to the king. And when the king looked at him, and saw him in a state of want, and that his hair had grown long like the wild beasts' and his nails like the claws of an eagle, and that his body was dirty with dust, and the colour of his face had changed and faded and was now like ashes. And when the king saw him he sorrowed over him and rose at once and embraced him and kissed him, and wept over him and said: "Praise be to God! who hath brought thee back to me." Then he consoled him and comforted him. And he stripped off his robe, and put it on the swordsman, and was very gracious to him, and gave him great wealth, and made Haiqâr rest.

Then said Haiqâr to the king, "Let my lord the king live for ever! These be the deeds of the children of the world. I have

[1] Literally "his reason flew." [2] Cod. "him."

reared me a palm-tree that I might lean on it, and it bent side- f. 95 a
ways, and threw me down. But, O my lord! since I have appeared before thee, let not care oppress thee." And the king said unto him: "Blessed be God, who shewed thee mercy, and knew that thou wast wronged, and saved thee and delivered thee from being slain. But go to the warm bath, and shave thy head, and cut thy nails, and change thy clothes, and amuse thyself for the space of forty days, that thou mayest do good to thyself and improve thy condition and the colour of thy face may come back to thee." Then the king stripped off his costly robe, and put it on Haiqâr, and Haiqâr thanked God and did obeisance to the king, and departed to his dwelling glad and happy, praising the Most High God. And the people of his household rejoiced with him, and his friends and every one who heard that he was alive rejoiced also.

And he did as the king commanded him, and took a rest for forty days. Then he dressed himself in his gayest dress, and went riding to the king, with his slaves behind him and before him, rejoicing and delighted. But when Nadan his sister's son perceived what was happening, fear took hold of him and terror, and he was perplexed, not knowing what to do. And when Haiqâr saw it he entered into the king's presence and greeted him, and he returned the greeting, and made him sit down at his side, saying f. 95 b
to him, "O my darling Haiqâr! look at these letters which the king of Egypt sent to us, after he had heard that thou wast slain. They have provoked us and overcome us, and many of the people of our country have fled to Egypt for fear of the taxes that the king of Egypt has sent to demand from us." Then Haiqâr took the letter and read it and understood all its contents. Then he said to the king, "Be not wroth, O my lord! I will go to Egypt, and I will return the answers to Pharaoh, and I will display this letter to him, and I will reply to him about the taxes, and I will send back all those who have run away; and I will put thy enemies to shame with the help of the Most High God, and for the happiness of thy kingdom." And when the king heard this speech from Haiqâr he rejoiced with a great joy, and his heart was expanded

and he shewed him favour. And Haiqâr said unto the king: "Grant me a delay of forty days that I may consider this question and manage it." And the king permitted this. And Haiqâr went
f. 96a to his dwelling, and he commanded the huntsmen to capture two young eaglets for him, and they captured them and brought them to him: and he commanded the weavers of ropes to weave two cables of cotton for him, each of them two thousand cubits long, and he had the carpenters brought and ordered them to make two great boxes, and they did this. Then he took two little lads, and spent every day sacrificing lambs and feeding the eagles and the boys, and making the boys ride on the backs of the eagles, and he bound them with a firm knot, and tied the cable to the feet of the eagles, and let them soar upwards little by little every day, to a distance of ten cubits, till they grew accustomed and were educated to it; and they rose all the length of the rope till they reached the sky; the boys being on their backs. Then he drew them to himself.

And when Haiqâr saw that his desire was fulfilled he charged the boys that when they were borne aloft to the sky they were to shout, saying, "Bring us clay and stone, that we may build a castle for king Pharaoh, for we are idle." And Haiqâr was never done training them and exercising them till they had reached the utmost possible point (of skill). Then leaving them he went to the king and said to him, "O my lord! the work is finished according to thy desire. Arise with me that I may shew thee the wonder." So the king sprang up and sat with Haiqâr and
f. 96b went to a wide place and sent to bring the eagles and the boys, and he tied them and let them off into the air all the length of the ropes, and they began to shout as Haiqâr had taught them. Then he drew them to himself and put them in their places. And the king and those who were with him wondered with a great wonder: and the king kissed Haiqâr between his eyes and said to him, "Go in peace, O my beloved! O pride of my kingdom! to Egypt and answer the questions of Pharaoh and overcome him by the strength of the Most High God." Then he bade him farewell,

and took his troops and his army and the young men and the eagles, and went towards the dwellings of Egypt; and when he had arrived, he turned towards the country of the king. And when the people of Egypt knew that Sennacherib had sent a man of his Privy Council to talk with Pharaoh and to answer his questions, they carried the news to king Pharaoh, and he sent a party of his Privy Councillors to bring him before him[1]. And he came and entered into the presence of Pharaoh, and did obeisance to him as it is fitting to do to kings. And he said unto him: "O my lord the king! Sennacherib the king hails thee with abundance of peace and might, and honour; and he has sent me, who am one of his slaves, that I may answer thee thy questions, and may fulfil all thy desire: for thou hast sent to seek from my lord the king a f. 97 a man who will build thee a castle between the heaven and the earth. And I by the help of the Most High God and thy noble favour and the power of my lord the king will build [it] for thee as thou desirest. But, O my lord the king! what thou hast said in it about the taxes of Egypt for three years—now the stability of a kingdom is strict justice, and if thou winnest and my hand hath no skill in replying to thee, then my lord the king will send thee the taxes which thou hast mentioned, and if I shall have answered thee in thy questions, it shall remain for thee to send whatever thou hast mentioned to my lord the king."

And when Pharaoh heard that speech, he wondered and was perplexed by the freedom of his tongue, and the pleasantness of his speech. And king Pharaoh said unto him, "O man! what is thy name?" And he said, "Thy servant is Abiqâm, and I am a little ant of the ants of king Sennacherib." And Pharaoh said unto him, "Had thy lord no one of higher dignity than thee, that he has sent me a little ant to reply to me, and to converse with me?" And Haiqâr said unto him, "O my lord the king! I would to God Most High that I may fulfil what is on thy mind, for God is with the weak that he may confound the strong." Then Pharaoh commanded that they should prepare a dwelling for Abiqâm and supply him

[1] Literally "betwixt his hands."

with provender, meat, and drink, and all that he needed. And
f. 97 b when it was finished three days afterwards Pharaoh clothed himself in purple and red and sat on his throne, and all his viziers and the magnates of his kingdom were standing with their hands crossed, their feet close together, and their heads bowed. And Pharaoh sent to fetch Abiqâm, and when he was presented to him, he did obeisance before him, and kissed the ground in front of him[1]. And king Pharaoh said unto him, "O Abiqâm, whom am I like? and the nobles of my kingdom, to whom are they like?" And Haiqâr said unto him, "O my lord the king! thou art like the idol Bel, and the nobles of thy kingdom are like his servants." He said unto him, "Go, and come back hither to-morrow." So Haiqâr went as king Pharaoh had commanded him. And on the morrow Haiqâr went into the presence of Pharaoh, and did obeisance, and stood before the king. And Pharaoh was dressed in a red colour, and the nobles were dressed in white. And Pharaoh said unto him, "O Abiqâm, whom am I like? and the nobles of my kingdom, to whom are they like?" And Abiqâm said unto him, "O my lord! thou art like the sun, and thy servants are like [its] beams." And Pharaoh said unto him, "Go to thy dwelling, and come hither to-
f. 98 a morrow." Then Pharaoh commanded his Court to wear pure white[2], and Pharaoh was dressed like them and sat upon his throne, and he commanded them to fetch Haiqâr. And he entered and sat down before him. And Pharaoh said unto him, "O Abiqâm, whom am I like? and my nobles, to whom are they like?" And Abiqâm said unto him, "O my lord! thou art like the moon, and thy nobles are like the planets and the stars." And Pharaoh said unto him, "Go, and to-morrow be thou here." Then Pharaoh commanded his servants to wear robes of various colours, and Pharaoh wore a red velvet dress, and sat on his throne, and commanded them to fetch Abiqâm. And he entered and did obeisance before him. And he said, "O Abiqâm, whom am I like? and my armies, to whom are they like?" And he said, "O my lord! thou art like the month of April, and thy armies are like its flowers." And when

[1] Literally "between his hands." [2] Or a dress completely white.

the king heard it he rejoiced with a great joy, and said, "O Abiqâm! the first time thou didst compare me to the idol Bel, and my nobles to his servants. And the second time thou didst compare me to the sun, and my nobles to the sun-beams. And the third time thou didst compare me to the moon, and my nobles f. 98 b to the planets and the stars, and the fourth time thou didst compare me to the month of April, and my nobles to its flowers. But now, O Abiqâm! tell me, thy lord, king Sennacherib, whom is he like? and his nobles, to whom are they like?" And Haiqâr shouted with a loud voice and said: "Be it far from me to make mention of my lord the king and thou seated on thy throne. But get up on thy feet that I may tell thee whom my lord the king is like and to whom his nobles are like."

And Pharaoh was perplexed by the freedom of his tongue and his boldness in answering. Then Pharaoh arose from his throne, and stood before Haiqâr, and said unto him, "Tell me now, that I may perceive whom thy lord the king is like, and his nobles, to whom they are like." And Haiqâr said unto him: "My lord is the God of heaven, and his nobles are the lightnings and the thunder; and when he wills, the winds blow and the rain falls. And he commands the thunder, and it lightens and rains, and he holds the sun, and it gives not its light, and the moon and the stars, and they circle not. And he commands the tempests, and it blows and the rain falls, and it tramples on April and destroys its flowers and its houses."

And when Pharaoh heard this speech, he was greatly perplexed and was wroth with a great wrath, and said unto him: "O man! f. 99 a tell me the truth, and let me know who thou really art."

And he told him the truth. "I am Haiqâr the scribe, greatest of the Privy Councillors of king Sennacherib, and I am his Vizier and the Governor of his kingdom, and his Chancellor."

And he said unto him, "Thou hast told the truth in this saying. But we have heard of Haiqâr, that king Sennacherib has slain him, yet thou dost seem to be alive and well." And Haiqâr said unto him, "Yes, so it was, but praise be to God, Who

knoweth what is hidden, for my lord the king commanded me to be killed, and he believed the word of profligate men, but the Lord delivered me, and blessed is he who trusteth in Him."

And Pharaoh said unto Haiqâr, "Go, and to-morrow be thou here, and tell me a word that I have never heard from my nobles nor from the people of my kingdom and my country." And Haiqâr went to his dwelling, and wrote a letter saying in it on this wise:

"From Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh to Pharaoh king of Egypt.

"Peace be to thee, O my brother! and what we make known to thee by this is that a brother has need of his brother, and kings of each other, and [my] hope from thee is that thou wouldst lend
f. 99 b me nine hundred talents of gold, for I need it for the victualling of some of the soldiers, that I may spend [it] upon them. And after a little while I will send it thee." Then he folded the letter, and presented it on the morrow to Pharaoh. And when he saw it, he was perplexed and said unto him, "Verily I have never heard anything like this language from any one." Then Haiqâr said unto him, "Truly this is a debt which thou owest to my lord the king." And Pharaoh accepted this, saying, "O Haiqâr, it is the like of thee who are honest in the service of kings. Blessed be God who hath made thee perfect in wisdom, and hath adorned thee with philosophy and knowledge. And now, O Haiqâr, there remains what we desire from thee, that thou shouldest build us a castle between heaven and earth."

Then said Haiqâr, "To hear is to obey. I will build thee a castle according to thy wish and choice; but, O my lord! prepare us lime and stone and clay and workmen, and I have skilled builders who will build for thee as thou desirest." And the king prepared all that for him, and they went to a wide place; and
f. 100 a Haiqâr and his boys came to it, and he took the eagles, and the young men with him; and the king and all his nobles went and the whole city assembled, that they might see what Haiqâr would do.

Then Haiqâr let the eagles out of the boxes, and tied the

young men on their backs[1], and tied the ropes to the eagles' feet, and let them go in the air. And they soared upwards, till they remained between heaven and earth. And the boys began to shout, saying, "Bring bricks, bring clay, that we may build the king's castle, for we are standing idle!"

And the crowd were astonished and perplexed, and they wondered. And the king and his nobles wondered. And Haiqâr and his servants began to beat the workmen, and they shouted for the king's troops, saying to them, "Bring to the skilled workmen what they want and do not hinder them from their work." And the king said unto him, "Thou art mad; who can bring anything up to that distance?" And Haiqâr said unto him, "O my lord! how shall we build a castle in the air? and if my lord the king were here, he would have built several castles in a single day." And Pharaoh said unto him, "Go, O Haiqâr, to thy dwelling, and rest, for we f. 100 b have given up[2] building the castle, and to-morrow come to me."

Then Haiqâr went to his dwelling and on the morrow he appeared before Pharaoh. And Pharaoh said, "O Haiqâr, what news is there of the horse of thy lord? for when he neighs in the country of Assyria and Nineveh, and our mares hear his voice, they cast their young." And when Haiqâr heard this speech he went and took a cat, and bound her and began to flog her with a violent flogging till the Egyptians heard it and they went and told the king about it. And Pharaoh sent to fetch Haiqâr, and said unto him, "O Haiqâr, wherefore dost thou flog thus and beat that dumb beast?" And Haiqâr said unto him, "O my lord the king! verily she has done an ugly deed to me, and has deserved this drubbing and flogging, for my lord king Sennacherib had given me a fine cock, and he had a strong true voice and knew the hours of the day and the night. And the cat got up this very night and cut off its head and went away, and because of this deed I have treated her to this drubbing." And Pharaoh said unto him, f. 101 a "O Haiqâr, I see from all this that thou art growing old and art

[1] Literally "on the eagles' backs."

[2] Literally "we have passed away from."

in thy dotage, for between Egypt and Nineveh there are sixty-eight parasangs, and how did she go this very night and cut off the head of thy cock and come back?"

And Haiqâr said unto him, "O my lord! if there were such a distance between Egypt and Nineveh, how could thy mares hear when my lord the king's horse neighs and cast their young? and how could the voice of the horse reach to Egypt?"

And when Pharaoh heard that, he knew that Haiqâr had answered his questions. And Pharaoh said, "O Haiqâr, I want thee to make me ropes of the sea-sand." And Haiqâr said unto him, "O my lord the king! order them to bring me a rope out of the treasury that I may make one like it." Then Haiqâr went to the back of the house, and bored holes in the rough shore of the sea, and took a handful of sand in his hand, sea-sand, and when the sun rose, and penetrated into the holes, he spread the sand in the sun till it became as if woven like ropes. And Haiqâr said, "Command thy servants to take these ropes, and whenever thou
f. 101 b desirest it, I will weave thee (some) like them." And Pharaoh said, "O Haiqâr, we have a millstone here and it has been broken, and I want thee to sew it up." Then Haiqâr looked at it, and found another stone. And he said unto Pharaoh, "O my lord! I am a foreigner, and I have no tool for sewing. But I want thee to command thy faithful shoemakers to cut awls from this stone, that I may sew that mill-stone." Then Pharaoh and all his nobles laughed. And he said, "Blessed be the Most High God, who gave thee this wit and knowledge." And when Pharaoh saw that Haiqâr had overcome him, and returned him his answers, he at once became excited, and commanded them to collect for him three years' taxes, and to bring them to Haiqâr. And he stripped off his robes and put them upon Haiqâr, and his soldiers, and his servants, and gave him the expenses of his journey. And he said unto him, "Go in peace, O strength of thy lord and pride of his Doctors! have any of the Sultans thy like? give my greetings to[1] thy lord, king

[1] Literally "my peace upon."

Sennacherib, and say unto him how we have sent him gifts, for kings are content with little."

Then Haiqâr arose, and kissed king Pharaoh's hands and kissed the ground in front of him, and wished him strength and continu- f. 102 a
ance, and abundance in his treasury, and said unto him, "O my lord! I desire from thee that not one of our countrymen may remain in Egypt." And Pharaoh arose and sent heralds to proclaim in the streets of Egypt that not one of the people of Assyria or Nineveh should remain in the land of Egypt, but that they should go with Haiqâr. Then Haiqâr went and took leave of king Pharaoh, and journeyed, seeking the land of Assyria and Nineveh; and he had some treasures and a great deal of wealth.

And when the news reached king Sennacherib that Haiqâr was coming, he went out to meet him and rejoiced over him exceedingly with great joy and embraced him and kissed him, and said unto him, "Welcome home, O kinsman! my brother Haiqâr, the strength of my kingdom, and pride of my realm! Ask what thou wouldst have from me, even if thou desirest the half of my kingdom and of my possessions." Then said Haiqâr unto him, "O my lord the king, live for ever! Shew favour, O my lord the king! to Abu Samîk in my stead, for my life was in the hands of God and in his."

Then said Sennacherib the king, "Honour be to thee, O my beloved Haiqâr! I will make the station of Abu Samîk the swordsman higher than all my Privy Councillors and my favourites." f. 102 b
Then the king began to ask him how he had got on with Pharaoh from his first arrival until he had come away from his presence, and how he had answered all his questions, and how he had received the taxes from him, and the changes of raiment and the presents. And Sennacherib the king rejoiced with a great joy, and said unto Haiqâr, "Take what thou wouldst fain have of this tribute, for it is all within the grasp of thy hand." And Haiqâr said: "Let the king live for ever! I desire nought but the safety of my lord the king and the continuance of his greatness. O my lord! what can I do with wealth and its like[1]? but if thou wilt

[1] This is one of the cases in which غيره may have the sense of *dergleichen*.

shew me favour, give me Nadan, my sister's son, that I may recompense him for what he has done to me, and grant me his blood and hold me guiltless of it."

And Sennacherib the king said, "Take him, I have given him to thee." And Haiqâr took Nadan, his sister's son, and bound his hands with chains of iron, and took him to his dwelling, and put a heavy fetter on his feet, and tied it with a tight knot, and after binding him thus he cast him into a dark room, beside the retiring-place, and appointed Nebu-hal as sentinel over him and
f. 103 a commanded him to give him a loaf of bread and a little water every day; and whenever Haiqâr went in or out he scolded Nadan, his sister's son, saying to him wisely,

1 "O Nadan, my boy! I have done to thee all that is good and kind, and thou hast rewarded me for it with what is ugly and bad and with killing.

"O my son! it is said in the proverbs: He who listeneth not with his ear, they will make him listen with the scruff of his neck."

2 And Nadan said, "For what cause art thou wroth with me?"

And Haiqâr said unto him, "Because I brought thee up, and taught thee, and gave thee honour and respect and made thee great, and reared thee with the best of breeding, and seated thee in my place that thou mightest be my heir in the world, and thou didst treat me with killing and didst repay me with my ruin. But the Lord knew that I was wronged, and He saved me from the snare which thou hadst set for me, for the Lord healeth the broken hearts and hindereth the envious and the haughty."

3 "O my boy! thou hast been to me like the scorpion which, when it strikes on brass, pierces it."

4 "O my boy! thou art like the gazelle who was eating the roots of the madder, and it said to her, 'Eat of me to-day and take thy
f. 103 b fill, and to-morrow they will tan thy hide in my roots.'"

5 "O my boy! thou hast been to me like a man who saw his comrade naked in the chilly time of winter; and he took cold water and poured it upon him."

6 "O my boy! thou hast been to me like a man who took a stone, and threw it up to heaven to stone his Lord with it. And the stone did not hit, and did not reach high enough, but it became the cause of guilt and sin."

7 "O my boy! if thou hadst honoured me and respected me and hadst listened to my words thou wouldst have been my heir, and wouldst have reigned over my dominions."

8 "O my son! know thou that if the tail of the dog or the pig were ten cubits long it would not approach to the worth of the horse's even if it were like silk."

9 "O my boy! I thought that thou wouldst have been my heir at my death; and thou through thy envy and thy insolence didst desire to kill me. But the Lord delivered me from thy cunning."

10 "O my boy! thou hast been to me (as) a lion who made friends with an ass, and the ass kept walking before the lion for a time; and one day the lion sprang upon the ass and ate it up."

11 "O my son! thou hast been to me like a trap which was set up on the dunghill, and there came a sparrow and found the trap set up. And the sparrow said to the trap, 'What doest thou here?' Said the trap, 'I am praying here to God.'

"And the lark[1] asked it also, 'What is the piece of wood that thou holdest?' Said the trap, 'That is a young oak-tree on which I lean at the time of prayer.' Said the lark: 'And what is that thing in thy mouth?' Said the trap: 'That is bread and victuals which I carry for all the hungry and the poor who come near to me.' Said the lark: 'Now then may I come forward and eat, for I am hungry?' and the trap said to him, 'Come forward.' And the lark approached that it might eat. But the trap sprang up and seized the lark by its neck. And the lark answered and said to the trap, 'If that is thy bread for the hungry God accepteth not thine alms and thy kind deeds. And if that is thy fasting

[1] For this rendering of قفشى see Payne Smith's *Thes. Syr.* col. 3555, صعصعة.

and thy prayers, God accepteth from thee neither thy fast nor thy prayer, and God will not perfect what is good concerning thee.'"

12 *a* "O my boy! thou hast been to me like a weevil in the wheat,
f. 104 a for it does no good to anything, but spoils the wheat and gnaws it."

12 *b* "O my boy! thou hast been like a man who sowed ten measures of wheat, and when it was harvest time, he arose and reaped it, and garnered it, and threshed it, and toiled over it to the very utmost, and it turned out to be ten measures, and its master said to it: 'O thou lazy thing! thou hast not grown and thou hast not shrunk.'"[1]

13 "O my boy! thou hast been to me like the partridge that had been thrown into the net, and she could not save herself, but she called out to the partridges, that she might cast them with her (self) into the net."

14 "O my son! thou hast been to me like the dog that was cold and it went into the potter's house to get warm. And when it had got warm, it began to bark at them, and they chased it out and beat it, that it might not bite them."

15 "O my son! thou hast been to me like a pig who went into the hot bath with people of quality, and when it came out of the hot bath, it saw a filthy hole[2] and it went down and wallowed in it."

16 "O my son! thou hast been to me like the goat which joined its comrades (on their way) to the sacrifice, and it was unable to save itself."

17 "O my boy! the dog which is not fed from its hunting becomes food for flies."

18 "O my son! the hand which doth not labour and plough
f. 104 b and (which) is greedy and cunning shall be cut away from its shoulder."

[1] This meaning of ضرر will be found in Lane, p. 1776, col. 3.

[2] *Gûre* means a hollow place, *siân* is presumably from the Hebrew סוּן to be soft or sticky and the Syriac ܣܐܢ *limus, coenum*. I can find no justification for *siâq*, the reading of the MSS. used by Salhan and Lidzbarski.

19 "O my son! the eye in which light is not seen, the ravens shall pick at it and pluck it out." B.M. MS. f. 210 a

20 "O my boy! thou hast been to me like a tree whose branches they were cutting, and it said to them, 'If (something) of me were not in your hands, verily you would be unable to cut me.'"

21 "O my boy! thou art like the cat to whom they said: 'Leave off thieving till we make for thee a chain of gold and feed thee with sugar and almonds.' And she said, 'I am not forgetful of the craft of my father and my mother.'"

22 "O my son! thou hast been like the serpent riding on a thorn-bush when he was in the midst of a river, and a wolf saw them and said, ('Mischief upon mischief, and let him who is more mischievous than they direct both of them.' And the serpent said to the wolf, 'The lambs and the goats and the sheep which thou hast eaten all thy life, wilt thou return them to their fathers and to their parents or no?' Said the wolf, 'No.' And the serpent said to him, 'I think that after myself thou art the worst of us.'") B.M. MS. f. 210 b

23 "O my boy! I fed thee with good food and thou didst not feed me with dry[1] bread."

24 "O my boy! I gave thee sugared water to drink and good syrup, and thou didst not give me water from the well to drink."

25 "O my boy! I taught thee, and brought thee up, and thou didst dig a hiding-place for me and didst conceal me."

26 "O my boy! I brought thee up with the best upbringing and trained thee like a tall cedar; and thou hast twisted and bent me."

27 "O my boy! it was my hope concerning thee that thou wouldest build me a fortified castle, that I might be concealed from my enemies in it, and thou didst become to me like one burying in the depth of the earth; but the Lord took pity on me and delivered me from thy cunning." f. 105 a

28 "O my boy! I wished thee well, and thou didst reward me

[1] For this meaning of خبز حاف cf. Lane, Book I, part 2, p. 598, Badger, p. 272.

(with) evil and hatefulness, and now I would fain tear out thine eyes, and make thee food for dogs, and cut out thy tongue, and take off thy head with the edge of the sword, and recompense thee for thine abominable deeds."

And when Nadan heard this speech from his uncle Haiqâr, he said: "O my uncle! deal with me according to thy knowledge, and forgive me my sins, for who is there who hath sinned like me, or who is there who forgives like thee? Accept me, O my uncle! Now I will serve in thy house, and groom thy horses and sweep up the dung of thy cattle, and feed thy sheep, for I am the wicked and thou art the righteous: I the guilty and thou the forgiving."

29 And Haiqâr said unto him, "O my boy! thou art like the tree which was fruitless beside the water, and its master was fain to cut it down, and it said to him, 'Remove me to another place, and if I do not bear fruit, cut me down.' And its master said to it, 'Thou being beside the water hast not borne fruit, how shalt thou bear fruit when thou art in another place?'"

f. 105 b 30 "O my boy! the old age of the eagle is better than the youth of the crow."

31 "O my boy! they said to the wolf, 'Keep away from the sheep lest their dust should harm thee.' And the wolf said 'The dregs of the sheep's milk[1] are good for my eyes.'"

32 "O my boy! they made the wolf go to school that he might learn to read, and they said to him, 'Say A, B.' He said, 'Lamb and goat[2] in my belly.'"

33 "O my boy! they set the ass down at the table and he fell, and began to roll himself in the dust, and one said, 'Let him roll himself, for it is his nature, he will not change.'"

34 "O my boy! the saying has been confirmed which runs: 'If thou begettest a boy, call him thy son, and if thou rearest a boy, call him thy slave.'"

[1] This is evidently a pun, *ghabar* meaning dust, and *ghubr* the last milk in the udder.

[2] The animals mentioned by the wolf had names which doubtless began with A, B. In the Arabic and English this is lost.

35 "O my boy! he who doeth good shall meet with good; and he who doeth evil shall meet with evil, for the Lord requiteth a man according to the measure of his work."

36 "O my boy! what shall I say more to thee than these sayings? for the Lord knoweth what is hidden, and is acquainted with the mysteries and the secrets. And He will requite thee and will judge betwixt thee and me, and will recompense thee according to thy desert."

And when Nadan heard that speech from his uncle Haiqâr, he swelled up immediately and became like a blown-out bladder. f. 106 a And his limbs swelled and his legs and his feet and his side, and he was torn and his belly burst asunder and his entrails were scattered, and he perished, and died. And his latter end was destruction, and he went to hell. For he who digs a pit for his brother shall fall into it; and he who sets up traps shall be caught in them. This is what happened and (what) we found about the tale of Haiqâr, and praise be to God for ever. Amen, and peace. This chronicle is finished with the help of God, may He be exalted! Amen, Amen, Amen.

A. S. L.

THE LEGEND OF AḤIḲAR, GREEK VERSION

The following is the portion of the story of Aesop which shows coincidence with Aḥiḳar.

Fabulae Romanenses Graece Conscriptae (ed. Eberhard).

c. xxiii. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τῆς νήσου ἀπάρας, περιῄει τὴν οἰκουμένην, τοῖς ἀπανταχοῦ τῶν φιλοσόφων διαλεγόμενος· ἀφικόμενος δὲ καὶ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σοφίαν ἐπιδειξάμενος, μέγας παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ Λυκήρῳ ἐγένετο. κατ᾽ ἐκείνους γὰρ τοὺς χρόνους οἱ βασιλεῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰρήνην ἔχοντες καὶ τέρψεως χάριν προβλήματα τῶν σοφιστικῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους γράφοντες ἔπεμπον. ἅπερ οἱ μὲν ἐπιλυόμενοι φόρους ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς πρὸς τῶν πεμπόντων ἐλάμβανον· εἰ δὲ μή, τοὺς ἴσους παρεῖχον. ὁ τοίνυν Αἴσωπος τὰ πεμπόμενα τῶν προβλημάτων Λυκήρῳ συνὼν ἐπέλυε, καὶ εὐδοκιμεῖν ἐποίει τὸν βασιλέα. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ Λυκήρου ἕτερα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀντέπεμπεν, ὧν ἀλύτων μενόντων, φόρους ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι πλείστους εἰσέπραττεν.

c. xxiv. Αἴσωπος δὲ μὴ παιδοποιησάμενος, ἕνα τινὰ τῶν εὐγενῶν, Ἔννον τὴν κλῆσιν, εἰσεποιήσατό τε καὶ ὡς γνήσιον παῖδα τῷ βασιλεῖ προσενέγκας συνέστησε. μετὰ δ᾽ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον τοῦ Ἔννου τῇ τοῦ θεμένου παλλακῇ συμφθαρέντος, Αἴσωπος τοῦτο γνοὺς, ἀπελαύνειν ἔμελλε τῆς οἰκίας. ὁ δὲ τῇ κατ᾽ ἐκείνου ὀργῇ ληφθεὶς, ἐπιστολήν τε πλασάμενος παρ᾽ Αἰσώπου δῆθεν πρὸς τοὺς ἀντισοφιζομένους Λυκήρῳ, ὡς αὐτοῖς ἕτοιμός ἐστι προστίθεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ Λυκήρῳ, τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐνεχείρισε, τῷ τοῦ Αἰσώπου ταύτην σφραγισάμενος δακτυλίῳ. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῇ τε σφραγῖδι

πεισθεὶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτῳ ὀργῇ χρησάμενος, παραχρῆμα τῷ Ἑρμίππῳ κελεύει, μηδὲν ἐξετάσαντα οἷα δὴ προδότην διαχειρίσασθαι Ἄϊσωπον. ὁ δὲ Ἕρμιππος φίλος τε ἦν τῷ Αἰσώπῳ καὶ τότε δὴ τὸν φίλον ἐπέδειξεν. ἔν τινι γὰρ τῶν τάφων μηδενὸς εἰδότος κρύψας τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐν ἀπορρήτοις ἔτρεφεν. Ἔννος δὲ, τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντος, πᾶσαν τὴν διοίκησιν Αἰσώπου παρέλαβε.

Μετὰ δέ τινα χρόνον Νεκτεναβὼ βασιλεὺς Αἰγυπτίων πυθόμενος Ἄϊσωπον τεθνηκέναι, πέμπει Λυκήρῳ παραχρῆμα ἐπιστολὴν, οἰκοδόμους αὐτῷ ἀποστεῖλαι κελεύουσαν, οἱ πύργον οἰκοδομήσουσι μήτ' οὐρανοῦ μήτε γῆς ἁπτόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἀποκρινούμενον ἀεὶ πρὸς πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν ἐρωτῴη· καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντα, φόρους εἰσπράττειν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, κατατίθεσθαι. ταῦτα τῷ Λυκήρῳ ἀναγνωσθέντα εἰς ἀθυμίαν ἐνέβαλε, μηδενὸς τῶν φίλων δυναμένου τὸ πρόβλημα τὸ περὶ τοῦ πύργου συνεῖναι. ὁ μέντοι βασιλεὺς καὶ κίονα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείας ἔλεγεν ἀπολωλεκέναι τὸν Ἄϊσωπον. Ἕρμιππος δὲ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως δι' Ἄϊσωπον λύπην μαθὼν, προσῆλθε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ζῆν ἐκεῖνον εὐηγγελίσατο, προσθεὶς ὡς τοῦδε χάριν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνεῖλεν, εἰδὼς ὡς μεταμελήσει ποτὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ἀποφάσεως. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως διαφερόντως ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡσθέντος, Ἄϊσωπος ῥυπῶν καὶ αὐχμῶν ὅλος προσηνέχθη, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς εἶδεν αὐτὸν, δακρύσαντος καὶ λούσασθαί τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιμελείας ἀξιωθῆναι κελεύσαντος, Ἄϊσωπος μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν κατηγορήθη τὰς αἰτίας ἀπεσκευάσατο. ἐφ' οἷς καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν Ἔννον ἀναιρεῖν μέλλοντος, Ἄϊσωπος αὐτῷ συγγνώμην ᾐτήσατο. ἑπομένως δὲ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου ἐπιστολὴν τῷ Αἰσώπῳ ἐπέδωκεν ἀναγνῶναι. ὃ δὲ αὐτίκα τὴν λύσιν συνεὶς τοῦ προβλήματος, ἐγέλασέ τε καὶ ἀντιγράφειν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς ἐπειδὰν χειμὼν παρέλθῃ, πεμφθῆναι τούς τε τὸν πύργον οἰκοδομήσοντας καὶ τὸν ἀποκρινούμενον πρὸς τὰ ἐρωτώμενα. ὁ βασιλεὺς οὖν τοὺς μὲν Αἰγυπτίους πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλεν, Αἰσώπῳ δὲ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς διοίκησιν ἐνεχείρισεν ἅπασαν, ἔκδοτον αὐτῷ παραδοὺς καὶ τὸν Ἔννον. ὁ δὲ Ἄϊσωπος παραλαβὼν τὸν Ἔννον, οὐδὲν ἀηδὲς αὐτὸν ἔδρασεν, ἀλλ' ὡς υἱῷ πάλιν προσσχὼν, ἄλλους τε καὶ τούτους ὑπετίθει τοὺς λόγους. c. xxv.

c. xxvi. 1 "Τέκνον, πρὸ πάντων σέβου τὸ θεῖον, τὸν βασιλέα δὲ τίμα·
2 καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς σου δεινὸν σεαυτὸν παρασκεύαζε, ἵνα μὴ
καταφρονῶσί σου· τοῖς δὲ φίλοις πρᾶον καὶ εὐμετάδοτον, ὡς
3 εὐνουστέρους σοι μᾶλλον γίνεσθαι. ἔτι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς
νοσεῖν εὔχου καὶ πένεσθαι, ὡς μὴ οἵους τε εἶναι λυπεῖν σε· τοὺς
4 δὲ φίλους κατὰ πάντα εὖ πράττειν βούλου. αἰεὶ τῇ γυναικί σου
χρηστῶς ὁμίλει, ὅπως ἑτέρου ἀνδρὸς πεῖραν μὴ ζητήσῃ λαβεῖν.
κοῦφον γὰρ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐστι φῦλον καὶ κολακευόμενον
5 ἐλάττω φρονεῖ κακά. ὀξεῖαν μὲν πρὸς λόγον κτῆσαι τὴν ἀκοήν,
6 τῆς δὲ γλώττης ἐγκρατὴς ἔσο. τοῖς εὖ πράττουσιν μὴ φθόνει,
7 ἀλλὰ σύγχαιρε· φθονῶν γὰρ σεαυτὸν μᾶλλον βλάψεις. τῶν
οἰκετῶν σου ἐπιμελοῦ ἵνα μὴ μόνον ὡς δεσπότην σε φοβῶνται,
8 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς εὐεργέτην αἰδῶνται. μὴ αἰσχύνου μανθάνειν ἀεὶ τὰ
9 κρείττω. τῇ γυναικὶ μηδέποτε πιστεύσῃς ἀπόρρητα, ἀεὶ γὰρ
10 ὁπλίζεται πῶς σου κυριεύσει. καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ εἰς τὴν αὔριον
ἀποταμιεύου· βέλτιον γὰρ τελευτῶντα ἐχθροῖς καταλεῖψαι, ἢ
11 ζῶντα τῶν φίλων ἐπιδεῖσθαι. εὐπροσήγορος ἔσο τοῖς συναντῶσιν,
12 εἰδὼς ὡς καὶ τῷ κυναρίῳ ἄρτον ἡ οὐρὰ προσπορίζει. ἀγαθὸς
13 γενόμενος μὴ μετανόει. ψίθυρον ἄνδρα ἔκβαλε σῆς οἰκίας, τὰ γὰρ
ὑπὸ σοῦ λεγόμενα καὶ πραττόμενα ἑτέροις φέρων ἀναθήσει.
14 πρᾶττε μὲν τὰ μὴ λυπήσοντά σε, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς συμβαίνουσι μὴ
15 λυποῦ. μήτε πονηρὰ βουλεύσῃ ποτὲ μήτε τρόπους κακῶν
μιμήσῃ."

τούτοις τοῦ Αἰσώπου τὸν Ἔννον νουθετήσαντος, ἐκεῖνος τοῖς τε λόγοις καὶ τῇ οἰκείᾳ συνειδήσει οἷά τινι βέλει πληγεὶς τὴν ψυχὴν, μετ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας τὸν βίον μετήλλαξεν.

c. xxvii. Αἴσωπος δὲ τοὺς ἰξευτὰς πάντας προσκαλεσάμενος, ἀετῶν νεοττοὺς τέτταρας συλληφθῆναι κελεύει. συλληφθέντας οὖν οὕτως ἔθρεψεν, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ ἐπαίδευσεν, ὅπερ οὐ πάνυ τί με πειθόμενον ἔχει, ὡς παῖδας διὰ θυλάκων αὐτοῖς προσηρτημένων βαστάζοντας εἰς ὕψος αἴρεσθαι, καὶ οὕτως ὑπηκόους τοῖς παισὶν εἶναι, ὡς ὅποιπερ ἂν ἐκεῖνοι βούλοιντο ἵπτασθαι ἄν τε εἰς ὕψος ἄν τε εἰς γῆν χαμᾶζε. τῆς δὲ χειμερινῆς ὥρας παραδραμούσης καὶ ἦρος διαγελάσαντος, ἅπαντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ὁδὸν συσκευασάμενος

Αἴσωπος, καὶ τούς τε παῖδας λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἀετοὺς, ἀπῆρεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, πολλῇ φαντασίᾳ καὶ δόξῃ πρὸς κατάπληξιν τῶν ἐκεῖ κεχρημένος. Νεκτεναβὼ δ' ἀκούσας παραγεγονέναι τὸν Αἴσωπον, "ἐνήδρευμαι," φησὶ τοῖς φίλοις, "μεμαθηκὼς Αἴσωπον τεθνηκέναι."

τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ κελεύσας ὁ βασιλεὺς πάντας τοὺς ἐν τέλει c. xxviii. λευκὰς περιβαλέσθαι στολὰς, αὐτὸς δὲ κιρρὰν ἐνεδύσατο καὶ διάδημα καὶ διάλιθον κίταριν. καὶ κατεσθεὶς ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ δίφρου, καὶ τὸν Αἴσωπον εἰσαχθῆναι κελεύσας, "τίνι με εἰκάζεις," εἰσελθόντι φησὶν, "Αἴσωπε, καὶ τοὺς σὺν ἐμοί;" καὶ ὃς, "σὲ μὲν ἡλίῳ ἐαρινῷ, τοὺς δὲ περί σε τούτοις ὡραίοις στάχυσι." καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς θαυμάσας αὐτὸν καὶ δώροις ἐδεξιώσατο. τῇ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνην ἡμέρᾳ πάλιν ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς στολὴν λευκοτάτην ἐνσκευασάμενος τοῖς δὲ φίλοις φοινικᾶς κελεύσας λαβεῖν, εἰσελθόντα τὸν Αἴσωπον τὴν προτέραν αὖθις πεῦσιν ἐπύθετο. καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος, "σὲ μὲν," εἶπεν, "εἰκάζω ἡλίῳ, τοὺς δὲ περί σε τούτοις ἀκτῖσι." καὶ ὁ Νεκτεναβὼ, "οἶμαι μηδὲν εἶναι Λυκῆρον πρός γε τὴν ἐμὴν βασιλείαν·" καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος μειδιάσας ἔφη, "μὴ εὐχερῶς οὕτω περὶ ἐκείνου, ὦ βασιλεῦ, λογίζου. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ ὑμέτερον ἔθνος ἡ ὑμῶν ἐπιδεικνυμένη βασιλεία δίκην ἡλίου σελαγεῖ· εἰ δὲ Λυκήρῳ παραβληθείη, οὐδὲν ἂν δέοι μὴ τὸ φῶς τοῦτο ζόφον ἀποδειχθῆναι." καὶ ὁ Νεκτεναβὼ τὴν τῶν λόγων εὐστοχίαν ἐκπλαγεὶς, "ἤνεγκας ἡμῖν," ἔφη, "τοὺς μέλλοντας τὸν πύργον οἰκοδομεῖν·" καὶ ὅς· "ἕτοιμοί εἰσιν, εἰ μόνον ὑποδείξεις τὸν τόπον."

μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξελθὼν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον, c. xxix. ὑπέδειξε διαμετρήσας τὸν χῶρον. ἀγαγὼν τοίνυν Αἴσωπος ἐπὶ τὰς ὑποδειχθείσας τοῦ τόπου γωνίας τέτταρας τοὺς τέτταρας τῶν ἀετῶν ἅμα τοῖς παισὶ διὰ τῶν θυλάκων ἀπηρτημένοις, καὶ οἰκοδόμων τοῖς παισὶ μετὰ χεῖρας δοὺς ἐργαλεῖα, ἐκέλευσεν ἀναπτῆναι. οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὕψος γενόμενοι, "δότε ἡμῖν," ἐφώνουν, "λιθους, δότε κονίαν, δότε ξύλα, καὶ τἄλλα τῶν πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν ἐπιτηδείων." ὁ δὲ Νεκτεναβὼ τοὺς παῖδας θεασάμενος εἰς ὕψος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀετῶν ἀναφερομένους, ἔφη· "πόθεν ἐμοὶ πτηνοὶ ἄνθρωποι;" καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος· "ἀλλὰ Λυκῆρος ἔχει· σὺ δὲ θέλεις ἄνθρωπος ὢν ἰσοθέῳ ἐρίζειν βασιλεῖ;" καὶ ὁ Νεκτεναβώ· "Αἴσωπε, ἥττημαι.

ἐρήσομαι δέ σε, σὺ δέ μοι ἀπόκριναι·" καὶ φησίν· "εἰσί μοι c. xxx.

θήλειαι ὧδε ἵπποι, αἵπερ ἐπειδὰν ἀκούσωσι τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἵππων χρεμετιζόντων, εὐθὺς συλλαμβάνουσιν. εἴ σοι πρὸς τοῦτο πάρεστι σοφία, ἐπίδειξαι." καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος· "αὔριον ἀποκρινοῦμαί σοι, βασιλεῦ." ἐλθὼν δὲ οὗ κατήγετο, αἴλουρον τοῖς παισὶν ἐκέλευσε συλλαβεῖν, καὶ συλληφθέντα δημοσίᾳ περιάγεσθαι μαστιζόμενον. οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ ζῷον σεβόμενοι, οὕτω κακῶς πάσχον αὐτὸ θεασάμενοι, συνέδραμον, καὶ τὸν αἴλουρον τῆς χειρὸς τῶν μαστιγούντων ἐκσπάσαντες, ἀναγγέλλουσιν ὡς τάχος τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ πάθος· ὁ δὲ καλέσας τὸν Αἴσωπον, "οὐκ ᾔδεις," φησὶν, "Αἴσωπε, ὡς θεὸς σεβόμενος παρ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶν αἴλουρος; ἵνα τί γοῦν τοῦτο πεποίηκας;" καὶ ὅς· "Λυκῆρον τὸν βασιλέα ἠδίκησεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῆς παρελθούσης νυκτὸς οὗτος ὁ αἴλουρος· ἀλεκτρυόνα γὰρ αὐτοῦ πεφόνευκε μάχιμον καὶ γενναῖον, προσέτι μὴν καὶ τὰς ὥρας αὐτῷ τῆς νυκτὸς σημαίνοντα." καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς· "οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ ψευδόμενος, Αἴσωπε; πῶς γὰρ ἐν μιᾷ νυκτὶ αἴλουρος ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἦλθεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα;" κακεῖνος μειδιάσας φησί· "καὶ πῶς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τῶν ἵππων χρεμετιζόντων αἱ ἐνθάδε θήλειαι ἵπποι συλλαμβάνουσιν;" ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα ἀκούσας, τὴν αὐτοῦ φρόνησιν ἐμακάρισε.

c. xxxi. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα μεταπεμψάμενος τῶν ἀφ' Ἡλίου πόλεως ἄνδρας ζητημάτων σοφιστικῶν ἐπιστήμονας, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Αἰσώπου διαλεχθεὶς αὐτοῖς, ἐκάλεσεν ἅμα τῷ Αἰσώπῳ ἐπ' εὐωχίαν. ἀνακλιθέντων οὖν αὐτῶν, τῶν Ἡλίου πολιτῶν τίς φησι πρὸς τὸν Αἴσωπον· "ἀπεστάλην παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μου πεῦσίν τινα πυθέσθαι σου, ὡς ἂν αὐτὴν ἐπιλύσῃς." καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος· "ψεύδῃ· θεὸς γὰρ παρ' ἀνθρώπου οὐδὲν δεῖται μαθεῖν. σὺ δὲ οὐ μόνον σαυτοῦ κατηγορεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ σου." ἕτερος πάλιν εἶπεν· "ἔστι ναὸς μέγας καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ στῦλος, δώδεκα πόλεις[1] ἔχων, ὧν ἑκάστη τριάκοντα δοκοῖς ἐστέγασται, τούτους δὲ περιάσι δύο γυναῖκες." καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος ἔφη· "τοῦτο τὸ πρόβλημα καὶ οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπιλύσονται παῖδες· ναὸς μὲν γάρ ἐστιν οὗτος ὁ κόσμος, στῦλος δὲ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς, αἱ δὲ πόλεις οἱ μῆνες, καὶ δοκοὶ αἱ τούτων ἡμέραι, ἡμέρα δὲ καὶ νὺξ αἱ δύο γυναῖκες, αἱ παραλλὰξ ἀλλήλαις διαδέχονται."

[1] Sic! Quaere πύλας.

τῇ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἡμέρᾳ συγκαλέσας τοὺς φίλους ἅπαντας ὁ c. xxxii.
Νεκτεναβώ φησι· "διὰ τὸν Αἴσωπον τοῦτον ὀφλήσομεν φόρους τῷ βασιλεῖ Λυκήρῳ." εἷς δέ τις αὐτῶν εἶπε· "κελεύσωμεν αὐτῷ προβλήματα φράσαι ἡμῖν, περὶ ὧν οὔτ' εἴδομεν οὔτ' ἠκούσαμεν." ἀρεστὸν οὖν τοῦτο τῷ Νεκτεναβῷ δόξαν, καλέσας τὸν Αἴσωπον ἔφη· "φράσον ἡμῖν, Αἴσωπε, πρόβλημα περὶ οὗ οὔτ' εἴδομεν οὔτ' ἠκούσαμεν." καὶ ὅς· "αὔριον περὶ τούτου ὑμῖν ἀποκρινοῦμαι." ἀπελθὼν οὖν καὶ συνταξάμενος γραμματεῖον, ἐν ᾧ περιείχετο Νεκτεναβὼ ὁμολογῶν χίλια τάλαντα τῷ Λυκήρῳ ὀφείλειν, πρωίας ἐπανελθὼν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ γραμματεῖον ἐπέδωκεν. οἱ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως φίλοι, πρὶν ἀνοιχθῆναι τὸ γραμματεῖον, πάντες ἔλεγον· "καὶ εἴδομεν τοῦτο καὶ ἠκούσαμεν, καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐπιστάμεθα." καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος· "χάριν ὑμῖν οἶδα τῆς ἀποδόσεως ἕνεκεν." ὁ δὲ Νεκτεναβὼ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς ὀφειλῆς ἀναγνοὺς εἶπεν· "ἐμοῦ Λυκήρῳ μηδὲν ὀφείλοντος πάντες ὑμεῖς μαρτυρεῖτε;" κἀκεῖνοι μεταβαλόντες εἶπον· "οὔτ' εἴδομεν οὔτ' ἠκούσαμεν." καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος· "καὶ εἰ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, λέλυται τὸ ζητούμενον." καὶ ὁ Νεκτεναβὼ πρὸς ταῦτα· "μακάριός ἐστι Λυκῆρος τοιαύτην σοφίαν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἑαυτοῦ κεκτημένος." τοὺς οὖν συμφωνηθέντας φόρους παραδοὺς τῷ Αἰσώπῳ, ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀπέστειλεν. Αἴσωπος δ' εἰς Βαβυλῶνα παραγενόμενος, διεξῆλθέ τε Λυκήρῳ τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πραχθέντα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀπέδωκε. Λυκῆρος δ' ἐκέλευσεν ἀνδριάντα χρυσοῦν τῷ Αἰσώπῳ ἀνατεθῆναι.

TRANSLATION OF ARAMAIC TEXT

i. 1 .....Aḥiḳar was his name, a wise and erudite scribe, who instructed his son.....He said: The son will be.....for me before.....Aḥiḳar, the Great Seal of Sennacherib, King of Assyria.....and there was no son to me.....and Sennacherib, king 3 of Assyria, had fulfilled (his days) and Sennacherib died.....his son, named Esarhaddon, and he was king of Assyria in the place 15 of his father (Sennacherib).....Assyria. Thereupon I took (my son).....and I instructed him and virtue.....in the palace along with.....I presented him before Esarhaddon, the king of Assyria. And wisdom.....what he had asked him. And thereupon Esarhaddon, the king of Assyria, loved him and said, (long) life (to Aḥiḳar) the wise scribe, the counsellor of all Assyria, who has appointed as his son, and no son.....and I bowed down and worshipped, I, Aḥiḳar, before Esarhaddon (the king) of Assyria..... Aḥiḳar, and when I saw the face of Esarhaddon, the king of Assyria, favourably, I rose up (and said, as I was before) Sennacherib thy father, who was king (before thee) . . . .

. . . . . .

I shall not be able to serve (the king) in the gate of this palace..... whose name is Nadin, my grown-up son, and he shall succeed me as Secretary,.....and Great Seal shall he be; and also my wisdom.....the king of Assyria. And he said to me, (like thyself shall he be) and in thy stead shall he do thy work.....I went to my house.....and I set him in the gate of the palace.....and I said, he will seek after that which is good..... (my son Nadin) whom I have brought up, think on.....the king Sennacherib, thy

father.....he is wise and according to his advice.....will much disquiet the king. Listen.....as a son, who is not my son; as a son . . . . . .

. . . . . .

Answered (Esarhaddon) the king and said.....whom my father iv. 1
hath made great, who (ate) the bread of my father.....thou wilt seek, where thou canst find.....that old man Aḥiḳar. He is a wise secretary.....whether he can corrupt the country against us, after that.....Assyria; he attached to him two men, in order to see.....that officer(?) Nabušumiškun, riding upon a swift horse..... with him after yet three days.....and the others who were with him, as I was walking in the vineyards. Nabušumiškun, the officer, rent his garment, and lamented.....the wise Secretary and master of good counsel who.....by whose counsel and words all Assyria was directed.....(Nadin, thy son) whom thou hast appointed at the gate of the palace, he hath undone thee.....Then 9
was I much afeard, even I Aḥiḳar: and I answered and said to Nabušumiškun.....I am he who aforetime saved thee from undeserved death, (when Sennacherib) the father of the present king, Esarhaddon, (was angry) with thee.....I brought thee to my house; thither was I bringing thee . . . . . .

. . . . . .

(I treated thee) as a man treats his brother, and I hid thee from the presence of (king Sennacherib); I said, I have killed him, until at another time, and after yet many days I presented thee before king Sennacherib, and caused thy sins to pass away before him; and no evil did he to thee. And with me also king Sennacherib was well pleased, because I had preserved thee alive and not slain thee. And now do thou also to me in the same 10
fashion as I did to thee. Slay me not, but bring me into thy house until other days. King Esarhaddon is merciful as one..... towards another. He will remember me and will long for my advice. Thou wilt then present me before him, and he will suffer me to live. Thereupon answered Nabušumiškun and said to me, Fear not. Thou shalt live, Aḥiḳar, the father of all

Assyria, according to whose counsel Sennacherib and all the Assyrian army were wont to make war. Nabušumiškun, the officer, spake to those two men, his companions, who were with him: (Listen to me) and I will give you a piece of advice, and it is good advice too. The two men answered and said to him, Tell it us then. And Nabušumiškun answered and said to them, Listen to me. Yonder is Aḥiḳar, a great man. He is the Great Seal of Esarhaddon. According to his counsel and word is the whole army of Assyria governed. Do not let us kill him. There is a eunuch that I have, and whom I will give you. He must be killed in the mountain; he shall be a substitute for Aḥiḳar.....other people (may come and) see the body of yonder Aḥiḳar, for the body of the young man, the eunuch whom I have (with me, is like to the body of Aḥiḳar).....until our brother Esarhaddon (shall have regret) over our brother and the heart of Esarhaddon (shall change concerning him). I will give you much treasure.....and the soul (of the officer) was content, with his two
11 companions. (And they said), Do as thou counsellest.....Thereupon they slew the aforementioned eunuch in the stead of
12 Aḥiḳar.....At that time the report was made in the king's palace, (and they said) to the king, He hath been slain. Thereupon Nabušumiškun (brought me to his house) and he caused to be supplied to me there (meat and drink), and said, Let these things
13 be furnished to my lord (Aḥiḳar). Likewise he brought much treasure (and gave it to his two companions). Thereupon Nabušumiškun, the officer, went to Esarhaddon, the king of Assyria, and informed him, saying, I went my way (as thou didst command me) and I found Aḥiḳar (walking in his vineyards), and I have put him to death. And do thou, O king, enquire of the two men whom thou didst appoint. So spake he (to king Esarhaddon), until that Esarhaddon believed his words.

(FRAGMENTS OF THE SAYINGS AND PARABLES OF AḤIḲAR)

What is stronger than a braying ass?.....

The son who is instructed and disciplined, and who has on his feet.....

Do not withhold thy son from beating, if thou.....

My son, if I beat thee, thou diest not. And if I leave on thy heart.....

Smite thy son, like.....even so to all thy servants . . .

. . . . . .

The lion will be.....the stag in the secret of his den (?).

And he pours out his blood and eats his flesh.....

The ass has left.....and does not carry it.

He takes up.....from his companions,.....which was not his .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

Watch carefully over thy mouth.....and make thy heart slow(?), for the word spoken is like a bird, and he who utters it is like a man without.....the craft of the mouth is mightier than the craft of.....

Do not conceal (?) the word of a king . . . . .

. . . . . .

They deal with trees by fire, with flesh by a knife, and with man.....

Let not thy heart rejoice in the multitude of children, and over their fewness (be not thou discouraged). Cf. Armenian Sayings No. 34.

The king is as a merciful man, also his voice is higher than that of him who stands before him.....

The king is fair to look on as the sun, and for them that walk the earth, his adornment is costly . . . . . .

. . . . . .

Cf. Syr. 45, 46, etc. (My son), I have lifted sand, and I have carried salt, but there was nothing heavier than.....

I have lifted straw and handled (?) the plough.....and there was nothing lighter than the man who dwells in . . . . .

. . . . . .

The panther met the goat, and it was naked; And the panther answered and said to the goat, Come and I will cover thee with my skin.

The goat answered and said to the panther, Why.....my skin? Take it not from me.

. . . . . .

The wolf came to the lambs (?).....and I will be silent. The lambs answered and said, Take what thou wantest from us.....

Nothing lies in a man's power, to lift up his foot or to set it down.....

Cf. Syr. 8. 5. (Do not bend) thy bow and shoot an arrow at the upright, lest God should.....and cause it to return upon thyself.....

(Thou hast bent) thy bow and shot thy arrow at one who is more righteous than thou. That is a sin against our God.

. . . . . .

A loan is heavy, and borrow thou not from a man.....and if thou contractest a loan, give thy soul no peace until.....

. . . . . .

.....in thine ears, for the charm of a man in his trustiness, and his hatred is lying with his lips (?).

The son of my body has spied out my house.....he has told strangers.....

He has become a false witness against me, and who now will declare my righteousness?

. . . . . .

With him that is higher than thyself (do not be familiar?) with him that is stronger.....than thyself, do not.....

. . . . . .

.....and be not insolent to thy father.

. . . . . .

The thorn-bush sent to the pomegranate and said:

The thorn-bush to the pomegranate. How numerous are thy thorns for him who handles thee!

The pomegranate answered and said to the thorn-bush: Thou art all thorns for him who handles thee.

. . . . . .

INTRODUCTION TO THE ARMENIAN AND TURKISH TEXTS

By F. C. CONYBEARE.

I. ON THE AGE OF THESE VERSIONS.

In the Introduction to the First Edition, p. lxxxi, it was stated that the date of the Armenian Version is hard to ascertain; it was only certain that it was much earlier than the year 1500, the date of the oldest Armenian MS., inasmuch as that MS. shewed a text that must have had a long history. In the absence of similar testimony I hesitated to regard as an echo of Aḥiḳar a passage of a late fifth century author, Lazar of Pharb, who, writing of the heretics of his nation from Amid in Mesopotamia, quotes the saying, "Her that married a swine, befits a bath of sewer water." This recalls the adage No. 24 towards the end of the Wisdom of Khikar: "Son, they took the swine to the bath, and he plunged into it, then rolled in the bog, saying: You wash in your own, and I will in mine."

But in the History of Lazar (ed. Venice 1891, p. 200) occurs a still clearer reminiscence as follows:

"We have defiled the raiment in which at holy baptism thou didst clothe us by washing of the font, by our impure iniquity we have rolled ourselves in the mire of denials like troops of swine."

In the first of these passages Lazar professes to derive his adage from the work of "a fabulist," to the exclusion of the hypothesis that he had in mind 2 Peter ii. 22, where a "true proverb" is cited which runs: ὗς λουσαμένη εἰς κυλισμὸν βορβόρου. He would surely have then alluded to his source as holy writ, if he had taken it from St Peter.

A yet clearer indebtedness to the "Wisdom" is revealed by another fifth century writer, Elisaeus, who in his History of the wars of Wardan (Venice ed. 1889, p. 13) has the following:

A blind man is bereft of the rays of the sun and ignorance is bereft of perfect life. It is better to be blind of eye than blind of mind.

This is textually the same as No. 51 of the Aphorisms of the "Wisdom."

Another Armenian author of the fifth century is Eznik, who in his work against heresies (ed. Venice, 1850, p. 61) has the following:

And of a troth the word of the wise man was in no wise vainly uttered to the effect that a slave who hearkens not through his ear, is made by them to hearken through his back.

The citation is virtually exact, except that the word *back* is differently rendered. Eznik cannot possibly echo here Proverbs xxix. 19, or Sirach xxx. 25, 27; there is too great a dissimilarity. We must conclude therefore that the "wise man" who uttered the saying was Aḥiḳar. The only doubt possible is whether Eznik, who in the context is plagiarising from Methodius, does not also derive the adage at second hand from some anonymous writer. But the close agreement with our current texts of Aḥiḳar militates against this hypothesis.

In the ninth century Thomas Artsruni [ed. Petersburg, 1887, p. 228, bk. iii, ch. 20) cites aphorism No. 10 of Aḥiḳar quite exactly ("with one that is without fear go not on a journey") and characterises the author of the saying in contrast with the Psalmist David as "an alien (*or* gentile) sage."

In the eleventh century Aristakes of Lastiwert (History, ch. 10, Venice ed. 1844, p. 41) cites textually aphorism No. 17, as follows: "The words of liars are fat as the quail, but they that are foolish swallow them down."

It is only when we reach the twelfth century that the author of the Aphorisms is named as Khikar or Aḥikar by the Patriarch of Sis (c. 1165), Nerses the Graceful. The Fabulist of the thirteenth century, Wardan of Aygek, who began to form the collection (edited by Prof. N. Marr of Petersburg) about the year 1220 in the convent of Drazark, was also familiar with Aḥiḳar, and often imitates his aphorisms and apologues.

The Armenian may therefore be confidently regarded as a version of the fifth century; and if it be a rendering from the Syriac, then the latter must be of still earlier date.

II. DOUBLE RECENSION AND SOURCES OF THE ARMENIAN TEXT.

The Armenian text of Recension A is printed in this edition from the following three codices, viz.:

1. Venice, Library of San Lazaro, No. 482, written in *bolorgir* or large cursive, on parchment, without date, but of the late 15th or 16th century. Called in my *apparatus criticus* Venetus or Ven.

2. Bodleian Library, Armenian e. 14, on paper, in a rare form of *notergir* or notary's hand. The first leaf has been partly torn out. Probably of the early 17th century. In *app. crit.* Bod.

3. Paris, Anciens Fonds Armen. Suppl. No. 58. On paper in *notergir* and ill-written in A.D. 1697. The text begins at fol. 253, but breaks off soon after the first series of precepts is ended. In *app. crit.* 58.

Of this recension we have a fairly old witness in the old Turkish text, given in Codex 468 of the Mekhitarist Monastery in Vienna. This was written, in a large regular cursive, in A.D. 1575 at Kamenitz in Poland; Aḥikar occupies folios 53 *b*–62 *a*. The translation was probably made in the Crimea about the year 1500. The text is written phonetically in Armenian characters, which I have transliterated in Roman ones. I have to thank Father Barnabas for making me a copy of it, and Prof. D. S. Margoliouth and Mrs A. S. Beveridge for aiding me in my translation of it.

In addition to the three MSS. of the A Recension enumerated above, I consulted for it in certain passages other codices, viz.:

1. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Anc. Fonds Arm. No. 131. In this Aḥikar occupies foll. 213–228. It is written on paper in a loose notary's hand in A.D. 1673. In *app. crit.* 131.

2. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Anc. Fonds Arm. No. 69. A large quarto, well written in large cursive in Poland, on paper in

A.D. 1614. The text omits the prelude and begins with the precepts. In *app. crit.* 69.

3. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Anc. Fonds Arm. No. 92, on paper. This contains only the last half of Aḥikar. In a peculiar hand, and dated 1619. In *app. crit.* 92.

4. Edjmiatzin, Codex No. 2048 of the new catalogue, a small well written codex in small cursive of about 1600. I compared this only as far as the 18th precept of the A Recension. In *app. crit.* Edjm.

5. Bodley Canon. Orient. 131. See below. In *app. crit.* canon.

Beside the above codices I have examined the British Museum codices Orient. 4548, 4580, 6798, 6987; but found nothing new in them.

There is a second Recension B of the Armenian version, best given of all the codices I have examined in these two:

6. Bodley, MS. Canonic. Orient. 131; written on paper at Ispahan in A.D. 1697 by Hazrapet the Priest for the use of one Israel, in large clear cursive.

7. Bodley, Arm. g. 9. This is a MS. of small form, of vellum, in a large clear *bolorgir*, written by Kirakos the Presbyter for one Joseph who paid for it "out of his honest earnings," in the year of the Armenians 1121 (= A.D. 1671), on the 26 of the month Varam or Haram. The Armenians of Julfa near Ispahan used the month Aram, and it answered to Dec. 16–Jan. 15.

Of this second recension I have not printed the original text; though I give an English rendering of it, for it is necessary in order to complete the Armenian evidence. It is best given and in the purest language, in Bodley, Arm. g. 9. This recension is often nearer to the Syriac than the other; but it adds a mass of precepts not to be paralleled in other versions. In the Venice MS. 482 similarly some eight pages of aphorisms are added at the end of those of the first series; but I cannot say if they are identical with those of Bodley, Arm. g. 9: probably not, as the two codices contain different recensions.

III. INTERRELATIONS OF THE TWO ARMENIAN RECENSIONS.

I feel that my method of editing calls for some justification; for it may be asked why I have printed only the first recension and not the second. I have done so, because—in spite of the superior closeness to the Syriac of the second recension towards the close of the book—the order of aphorisms in the first recension proves that it preserves better than the other the characteristics of the archetype from which all the versions—Armenian, Slavonic, and Syriac—flow. The following tables illustrate this. In them each particular aphorism is throughout indicated by its serial number in the Armenian Recension A. Roman figures indicate additional aphorisms wanting in this Armenian Recension A, but present in B or in one of the other versions. The Roman numeral merely indicates the place occupied by the aphorism it symbolises in one or the other of these three series of B, Slavonic and Syriac; and whereas an Arabic numeral indicates in all four columns the same aphorism, a Roman one does not. Thus No. XVI of A is the same aphorism as No. XXV of the Syriac series; and in the later series of aphorisms with which the story ends, No. VIII of B = Syr. IX; XV of B = Syr. XXIV, and so on.

FIRST TABLE OF COMPARISON OF THE FIRST OR LONGER SET OF APHORISMS.

Armenian A	Armenian B	Slavonic	Syriac	Armenian A	Armenian B	Slavonic	Syriac
1	1*a*	1*a*, 1*b*	1*a*	11	10*b*	10*c*	5
2	1*b*	2	1*c*	12	48	11	6
3	2	III	1*b*	13	12	XIII	9
4	45*a*	45	2	14	14*a*	XIV	10*a*
5	45*b*	4, 5	39	15	14*b*	12	10*b*
6	4	8	3	16	XVI	14*a*	10*c*
7	7	9?	45*a*	17	XVII	14*b*	11, 97
8	8	10*a*	45*b*	18	17*a*	XVIII	13
9	9	IX	4	19	17*b*	16	XIX
10	10*a*	10*b*	7	20	18	XX	XX

Armenian A	Armenian B	Slavonic	Syriac
21	48*a*	17	12
22	19	18*a*	XXII
23	20, 21	18*b*	14*a*
24	22*a*	19	14*b*
25	22*b*	21	XXV
26	XXVI	22*a*	17
27	34, 35	22*b*	18, 78
28	36	23	19
29	37	XXIX	20, 21
30	38	24	22*a*
31	38*b*	25	22*b*
32	26	26	23
33	41	27	41
34	40	28	42
35	27	30	85
36	52*b*	31	43
37	52*c*	32	44*a*
38	51	36	XXXVIII
39	50, 73*c*	37	47
40	XL	38	64
41	XLI	XLI	65
42	XLII	41	66
43	XLIII	44	67
44	60*b*	45?	68
45	XLV	XLV	69*a*
46	66	64	69*b*
47	67	65	69*c*
48	28	66	15
49	30	67	51
50	31	L	73*c*
51	32	37	50
52	49?	69*b*	LII
53	88	71	25
54	70	73	52
55	71	51	LV
56	39	LVI	LVI
57	LVII	LVII	56
58	72	73*a*	57
59	LIX	73*b*	91
60	53	50	77
61	61?	LXI	LXI
62	74	52	60
63	LXIII	LXIII	LXIII
64	55	LXIV	28
65	LXV	74	83
66	56	75	LXVI
67	LXVII	LXV	80*a*
68	57	LXVI	28, 81*a*
69	45*b*	55	81*b*
70	LXX	57	38
71	24	58	82
72	76	59	LXXII
73	LXXII	79	LXXIII
74	78	60	LXXIV
75	70?, 68?	27	LXXV
76	69*a*	LXXVI	84
77	69*b*	80	26
78	24	62?	27
79	25	83	
80	26	84	
81	27	80	
82	59	25	
83	79	81	
84	LXXXIV	LXXXIV	
85	LXXXV	LXXXV	
86	80	LXXXVI	
87	83	LXXXVII	
88	84	67	
89	85	85	
90	XC		
91	XCI		
92	90*a*		
93	90*b*		
94	91		
95	XCV		
96	89		
97	XCVII		
98	XCVIII		
99	XCIX		
100	90?		
101	92*a*		
102	92*b*		
103	92*c*		

SECOND COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE LATER OR SECOND SET OF APHORISMS.

Armenian A	Armenian B	Slavonic	Syriac
1	1	1?	1
2	2	2	2
3	8	9	7
4	9	10	8*a*
5	10	18	9
6	17	17	10
7	12*b*	15	18
8	VIII (=Syr. IX)	VIII	12*b*
9	15	IX	IX
10	10	25	17
11	6	20	15
12	14*a*	XII (=Syr. XXX)	XII
13	14*c*	XIII (=Syr. XXXI)	12*b*
14	14*b*	XIV (=Syr. XXXII)	XIV
15	XV (=Syr. XXIV)	22	11
16	12*a*	16	XVI
17	20	23	XVII
18	XVIII (=Syr. XXXI)	XVIII (=Syr. XXXIX)	19
19	XIX (=Syr. XXXII)	XIX (=Syr. XL)	24
20	XX (=Syr. XXXIII)	XX (=Syr. XLI)	6
21	4	27	14*a*, *c*, *b*
22	24*b*		XXII
23	25		XXIII
24	16		XXIV
25	26*c*		12
26	26*d*		13
27	27		20
			21
			XXIX–XXXIII
			4
			22
			25
			16
			23
			XXXIX (?26*a*)
			XL–XLII
			26*b*
			27

Glancing at the first of the above tables we note that the two Armenian recensions agree in respect of the first 22 precepts; and they both agree with the Syriac in respect of these 22; though the Syriac, after No. 23, suddenly jumps to 42. On the other hand the Slavonic carries its agreement with Armenian A up to 45 and then jumps to 64.

What is the meaning of this? Surely that the archetype of all the versions arranged the aphorisms in groups of 22, according to the letters of an Aramaic or Jewish alphabet. The Slavonic and Armenian A hand us down the first two alphabets complete: the Slavonic, Armenian A and B, and the Syriac, conjointly hand us down the second alphabet.

Again where two numbers follow one another in any two of the three versions, we are certain that we have before us the order of the archetype. Thus 45 follows 2 in Armenian B and in Slavonic and follows 3 in Syriac; and Syriac and Armenian A together testify to 64–69 as one block, just as all three versions testify to 64–67 as one block. The Syriac (in spite of interpolated precepts) witnesses to the Armenian block 50–59; and similarly to the coherence on the whole of 41–47. Slavonic to the general coherence of 80–85, and to that of 69–73, of 74–75, of 55–59.

And there are other coincidences which help to fix the original sequence of the last half of the aphorisms: thus, in Slav. 73 *a* and *b* precede 50, in Syriac 73 *c* precedes 50[1]. In Arm. B and Slavonic 59 precedes 79. In Slav. we jump from 45 to 64, in Syriac from 47 to 64. From these coincidences we may infer that, in the neighbourhood of 47, a third alphabet began with 64 and continued as far as 73, then followed 50–59, then 79 followed, perhaps by 80–85, though this is less certain.

Several of the aphorisms lacking in Armenian A, yet given in Armenian B recur in the other versions; thus A XVI = Syr. XXV, A XXVI = Slav. XXIX; A XL = Slav. XCVI; A XLI = Slav. XCVI; these and many other examples of the kind shew that the B Recension of the Armenian is needful to supplement the other. The Syriac often agrees closely with it, especially in the later part of the story.

[1] Also in Arm. B 50 precedes 73.

IV. RELATION OF ARMENIAN TO SYRIAC.

Indeed the agreement of the Armenian and Syriac is so close as to warrant the conclusion that one is a translation of the other. It is not easy however to decide to which the priority belongs. If in its original form Aphorism, No. 9, of the Armenian Recension A, ended thus: "make a path for thy feet," then the Syriac: "for thy sons and for thy sons' sons," renders the corruption *ordotz* for *otitz* which arose within the Armenian tradition and is actually found in Recension B. The reading of *otitz*: "for thy feet," stands in A, and is certainly the more natural reading; for the object in treading down the thorns while a man has his boots on, is surely that he may be able to pass over them unscathed another time when they are off, rather than to provide a path for posterity. Again, there can be no doubt that the Armenian best preserves the order of the archetype, and it is also the only text which preserves the aphorism found in the Aramaic text of Elephantine:

Son, rejoice not thou in the number of thy children, and in their deficiency be not thou distressed.

But it may be argued that this precept once stood in the Syriac and has disappeared from its tradition. In favour also of the priority of the Syriac is the fact that it mentions Sarḥadum or Esarhaddon, father of Sennacherib, and preserves the name Abusemakh, which the Armenian corrupts into Nabusmaq. Perhaps the Syriac can be proved to descend from the Aramaic[1]. It may be remarked that the Armenian codices sometimes have *Nathan*, sometimes *Nadan*; they also use Seneqarim and Seneqerim indifferently.

[1] On the other hand, Esarhaddon may have been eliminated from the Armenian by an editor of the story who knew from Tobit and 2 Kings that Esarhaddon was son and not father of Sennacherib. It is significant that the Syriac inverts the order of the Aramaic papyrus. The Slavonic equally omits Esarhaddon. The loss of the first letter of the name Nabusmaq in the Armenian may be due to a terminal N of a Greek third person aorist preceding it, just as in Tobit xiv 10 is read ἐποίησεν Ἀδάμ by error for ἐποίησε Ναδάμ.

Another coincidence of the Armenian with the ancient Aramaic is in Aphorism 10 of the second series: Son, thou hast been to me like him that shot his arrow up to heaven; and he was not able to reach thereto, but reaped the reward of his lawlessness, and the arrow returned on his head. The Syriac has:

My son, thou hast been to me like a man that threw a stone at the heaven, and it did not reach the heaven; but he incurred sin against God.

The Arabic is similar.

The Slavonic has:

Thou hast been to me, O my son, like a man who shot an arrow up to heaven. The arrow certainly did not reach heaven, but the man was guilty of a sin.

Here the Aramaic runs:

"(Do not bend) thy bow and shoot an arrow at the upright, lest God should.....and cause it to return on thyself.....

"(Thou hast bent) thy bow and shot thy arrow at one who is more righteous than thou; that is a sin against our God."

Here the Armenian alone reflects the Aramaic in full.

The names of the gods to whom Khikar prayed are, unfortunately, not preserved in the Aramaic fragments, and stand in the Armenian alone of all the versions. Dr Langdon has pointed out to me that the first two are titles of a Babylonian deity which among the Syrians would quite naturally be hypostatised as separate deities. Thus Bêlshim means = Bel—establish and fix (the fate); Shimil is Shim-ili, *i.e.* Fix the fate, Oh God. Shamin, which in the Turki Version is read as Shahmil, may be a corruption of Shamshim, the oblique case of Shamash.

The Slavonic and Armenian versions frequently join hands across the Syriac, and the Slavonic and Syriac across the Armenian. Thus the Turki version, which represents an old stage of Recension A, omits with Slavonic the sixty wives of Aḥiḳar together with their sixty palaces at the beginning of the story. In the same context they both have the phrase: "nor daughter *to bewail him.*" On the other hand, the Slavonic and Syriac agree in the same

context against the Armenian in use of the phrase: cast dust *on my eyes*; and in adding in the first precept the comparison of a secret divulged to a hot and burning coal. In order to the restoration of the archetype a careful comparison of all the versions would be necessary, and in such a comparison the text preserved by two sources together against a third must be admitted to be the more original.

The presence of Syriac idioms in the Armenian, *e.g.* "the son of a poor man" in the sense simply of "a poor man," make it certain that the priority belongs to the Syriac. At the same time the Armenian text is indispensable for the reconstruction of the Syriac.

OLD TURKISH TEXT

(Transliterated from the Armenian characters)

ա = a short as in c*a*n	մ = m
բ = p	յ = y
գ = k	ն = n
դ = t	շ = sh
զ = z	ո = o short
ե = e	չ = ch as in *ch*urch
է = ā long as in bāne or sāne	պ = b
ը = u short	ջ = dsch
թ = th as in *th*is	ռ = rh a rolled r
ժ = j	ս = s
ի = i	վ = w
լ = l	տ = d
խ = kh inclining to gh	ր = r
ծ = ds	ց = tz
կ = g	ւ = v except in diphthongs
հ = h	փ = f inclining to bh
ձ = ts	ք = q
ղ = γ a soft g	օ = ō long
ճ = dj	ու = oo

I. Oosloo Khikarning sozoo āsi akhulu. Aytqanu day ōgoodoo, qi ogootlangaylar adam ôγlanlar. Day atay ôγloonay ôgoodbārgay, da āsinay algaylar:

II. Asqi torayday khanlar Wakhtunay Sānāqarim atlu khan barādi Ninooā qermaningday asoresdanung: Mān Khikar oosloo. կ. eashinay boldoom. khatoon aldum. ōγool khuz bolmadu mangay:

III. Pardum thāngrim alnunay. day qōb doorloo khoorban ettim khaytub chôqtum allarunay day ayttum:

IV. āy mānim āyaylarim day thāngrilarim. . ining atuy Belshim ādi. . inchising atuy Shilim ādi. oochoonchoosoong atuy Shahmil ādi. booyooroongooz day mangay ār ôγool bāringiz. qi ôshtay Khikar tirilay' ôlmiyir:

V. Nā aytqaylar adam ôγlanlaru, qi Khikar oosloo djardar oldi. day ôγul bôlmadu qi anu qômgay idi. day malun māngargayādi. ôγool bôlgiyādi day koonday khantar altun tas ātqeyādi bôlmasādi mānim malumnu toogat magay:

VI. Auγool bôlgiyādi qi khôloo bilay oosdoonay thôfrak salgayādi. tāq mangay ôγool yishadag bolgiyādi.

VII. Aul sahat mangay awaz bôldoo thāngrilarimdan. day ayttuylar. Khikar booyoorgan dur qi sangay ôγool bôlgay. sān khardashungnung ôγloon al sangay ôγool sakhlagaysān day ôstoorgaysān anu. sāndan songray sāning ôroongay.

VIII. Qi ishittim mān boo awaznu thāngrilarimdan aldum mān khardashum ôγloon eashinay. qiydirdim anu toorloo toorloo qamkhaylar ichinay day saldum boyoonay altun zndjul nāchiq khan ôγloonoong ichirdim anuy barchay sooth bilay, day khaymakh bilay day chiy balbilay:

IX. Day eookhlaturādim anu kharay khooshnoong day qoochgoorchinning mokhoondan eastukhlar oostoonay. angar diray qi bôldoo eashinay: Moondan songray bashladum angar ôwratmagay bithiqni āsni oo akhulni, dooneayning bilmakhun. qimlarqi eakhshilkhqay ootroodoor alargay djooab oo sôz:

X. koondooz oo qāchay tiyilmadim ôwratmakhtan' thoydoordoom anuy ās oo akhul bilay, nāchiq qimāsay soowdan day ôthmaqtan toygay.

XI. Taγuday moondan songray oondadi khan khatunay. day ayttu alay qi oosloo Khikar qôriyir mān sāni qi khartayupsān. sāndan songray qim toogal lisar djardarlkh bilay, dayā ooakhul bilay mānim khanlkhumnung qeraqin. mān asruy khayγooriyirmān boo ishtan:

XII. Ayttum khanum. sān khayγoorma bardur mānim ôγloom, qi daγu djardar, oosloo day akhullu tur māndan āsay.

XIII. ayttuy khan gāltir alnuma qi qoriyim. qeltirtim day toorγoozdum khannung alnunay.

XIV. qordoo khan day biyandi. day ayttu qi alγshlu bôlgay boo ôγlannung koonlari. qi Khikar kendining tirlikhinay toorγoozdoo ôγloon alnumay, qendi tunchlkhtay bôlgay:

XV. Andan songra eoogoondoom khanumay aldum ôγloonini, day bardum Palatsumay. bootoorloo aytur ādim ôwratqan day Nadan atluy ôγloomay:

1. Auγloom, Nā qi ishitsang khan biy āshiqinay, anu eooraqingay toot, kimsaygay achma. baylini mohoorlini cheshmay. chāshqanni baylamay. day nēqi ishitsang alani ātmay day aytmagin.

2. Auγloom kôzoong achup qôrqloo khatun kôrsang kiyinishli day bāzowloo. bolmagay qi angar sookhlangaysān. āgar tirliqingni barchasunday bārsang, azgnay sookhlanganung boloor, eôkhāsay alursān thāngridan nalatlamakh day adamlardan. anungoochoon qi khatun kishi ôkhshar ⁻ qôrqloo kerezmangay. ôl kerezmannung ichi tôloodur sôwaqlar bilay day sasumakh bilay ôloonoong:

3. Auγloom ôkhshamay badam taraqinay, qi barchay teraqlardan booroon chichaqlanir, day emishin barchay teraqlardan songray bārir, eôkhāsa ôshkhay khabakhqa, qi sônγooday chichaqlanir, day emishin booroon bārir.

4. Auγloom eakhshirakh āsli adam bilay tash tashumay, neqi āssiz adam bilay chaγur ichmay.

5. Auγloom āslilar bilay āssiz bôlmay day āszislar bilay āsli bolmay.

6. Auγloom djaht āt akhulular bilay. akhulu bolmay nechiq alar bolmagay qi anuzkamlargay day āssiz adamilargay sungar bolmagaysān. qi sāni day āssiz anzkam oondagaylar:

7. Auγloom eakhshirakh chaγurungnu tôqqaysān neqi āssizlar bilay da anzkamlar ichqaysān, qi bôlmagay alar sāni nalatlagaylar:

8. Auγloom bôlmay asruy tatlu, qi sāni iutqaylar. day ni asru leγi, qi tooqoogaylar, eôkhāsay bôl ivach day tôzoomloo.

barchay eachshikhlungan ungay, day eoorooganingay, da barchay ishingay:

9. Auγloom nechayqi ātiqing ayakhungay dur, basqun teganagni, day eôl ach ayakhungay:

10. Auγloom, khôdjay ôγloo eilan edi, ayttuylar qi hakimliq tir angar. earlunung eti āsay, ayttuylar' achlkhdan edi. anung oochoon qi sāning ooloosshoongnoo egin. day khatunungnung. sungarunay qôz khoymay, nā malunay, nā thāngridan khorkhoosooz adam bilay, nā āldan oojalmas kishi bilay eôlgay chkhmay, day nā ôthmaq tay emay anung qipiq bilay:

11. Auγloom qôrsang dooshmanungu erkhulup tur qoolmay day maskhara ātmay anu. āgar toorsay sangay eaman ādar:

18. Auγloom, sow athangnu day anangnu, qi thoγoordoo sāni. dalmagaysān alarnung kharγshun. zeray thāngrining day athaynung anaynung alγshry bir dir. nechiq al ... alay kharγushi. qi sān sānday soowoongays ... ning ôγlanlarungdan:

12. Auγloom eam ... eukhulur qāndining ing eamaulkhunay qôray. day eakhshi ôγool toorar qendining eakhshilkhunay qôray:

13. Auγloom eoowookhlanmay eaman oo karsuz khatungay. day pampasāl ātqaylar daymay sāni. nalatlamakay day ayblamakay, day dkhchangi egay. anung qibiqdan khach:

14. Auγloom, toowooshdan ôgoottan ayamay ôγloongnu. toowooshalaydur ôγlangay. nechiq bir gnoynoo eaygaysān bakhchaday, daγuday nā doorloo mohoor khaznay oosnay. ôl Toorloo igi tir towoosh oγlangay. ākarqi koonday ⟨illegible⟩ day ⟨illegible⟩ day tayakh bilay ôgootlasay. andan ivashlanur, day andan ôlmas. āgar khoydoong āsay ôγloongnoo qendi ārqinay ôγroo bôloor. day āltarlar anuy asmay eay qāsmay, day boloor sangay ôlginchayjalhāch āsingdan qetmas.

15. Auγloom ôwrat ôγloongnoo achlkhqay day soosamakhgay, qi ôstamliq bilay qechirmagay qoonlarin qendining: Dooshmanungdan soz aytgaylar eôbsoon magaysān, anungoochoon qi sāning qenday angar aytarlar:

19. Auγloom dooshmanung bar āsay, eôldashsuz eôlgay chkhmay. bolmagay qi dooshmanung sakhlagay eôloongnoo day sān waγtsuz ôlgaysān:

22. Auγloom bolmagay qi aytqaysān. mānim beyim āssis dir, day mān āslimān. day sān sāni ôggaysān. eôkhāsay tozgin anung āssisliqinay day oosloolargay eoowookhlangun sān qi ôzgaylar sāni ôggaylar:

23. Auγloom hāch qimsag ... aman aytmay. da beyming alnunay kob ... bolmay, qi adamlar alnunay' ... magay sāni:

24. Auγloom, khachan sadaγay bārsang earlunuy achutma. barganing thāngrigay khapool toogooldoor:

25. Auγloom saymay khayγoonu. day euγlamakhnu day anchayday bazup barmay thoygay' eay faragliqqay, zeray kôp toorloo alnumuz gay ôloom bar day kôp toorloo fortsanq:

26. Auγloom, khaysiqi althun eoochooq sāning doogool, anuy barmakhungay khoymay. day khaysi thôn ôfrakh sāning doogool anuy qiymay. da ôl at khaysiqi sāning doogool atlaumay, qi qooldqoo bolmagaysān:

27. Auγloom āgar ach āsang, day khaysi ôthmaq sāning doogool anuy emay' soonmenchay:

28. Auγloom ôl adam qi sāndan qoochloo door anung bilay qoorash tootmay, day angar ootroo bôlmay. bôlmagay qi eukhup sāni ôldoorgay:

29. Auγloom neqi eakhshi eaman ishitsang anuy eooraqingay sakhlay. thāngridan sangay eakhshi bôloor. day artar sāning tirliqing:

30. Auγloom āgar ôwoong beyiq oozoon āsay. ɬ khoolach boyoongnoo āgip kir:

31. Auγloom, almay ooloo ôlchow bilay, day bārmay kichi ôlchôw bilay. day aytmay qi aslam āttim anungqini thāngri arturmas. day ôch ashir day sān ach tas bôloorsān:

32. Auγloom, eaγlan ant ichmay, qi koonlarung āqsilmagay, eaγlanchining koonlari āqsilir:

33. Auγloom, thāngrinin boorookhoonay daymay khoolakh khoy, day āsqi dooshmandan khookhmay. thāngrinin boorookhoo eakhshi adamigay tash khalay dur:

34. Auγloom, oγlarlarungnung kôp bolganunay soowoonmay, day āqsilganinay kop eiglamay day kob khayγoormay:

35. Auγloom ôγlanlar oo mal thāngrining bārmakhi dur. āwātqi khodjay carlulanur. day carlu khodjaylanur. day ashakhlangan beyiqlanir day beyiqlangan ashakhlanur:

36. Auγloom, āgar sungarung khastaylansa, aytma qi nā ālliyim angar. eôkhāsay bar ayakhung bilay khatunay, da qôr qôzoong bilay, khastaynuy sorsang artukh tur althudan koomooshdan āsay qi bārgaysān:

37. Auγloom earγooday olkoor sang ôrooch alma althun eay indji. boo agirliq bilay qônoonoo āgri ātmay. eôkhāsay thorani kônoo āt, day qônoonoong khanun thôqtoorsangāsay sāning da toqarlar:

38. Auγloom, sakhlay tilingni eaman sozdan. kozoongnoo eaman bakhmakhtan. achnemay day ôγoorladung āsay ôloom bir dir:

39. Auγloom itliq ātmay sungarungnung khatunuy bilay. songray ôzgaylarday sāning sungarungay doosharlar, day ôlginchay bôloor sanga nalatlamay:

40. Auγloom bolmagay qi algaysān kendingay tool khatoonnoo nogar: qim bilir araday nemay talash bôldooāsay. ôl booroongi āyasin angar' da sān khaylooroop koostoonoorsān:

41. Auγloom, āgar qi sangay thāngridan nā toorloo fortsoothiun eôlookhdooāsay, bolmagay qi cangulup djudjkoohāl bolgaysān. qi daγun eaman tunsuzlkh ābārmagay. day wakhtsuz dooneaydan qichirmagay. eôkhāsay nā toorloo day thāngridan kilsay shooqoorloo bôl, zeray shooqoorloo aγuz thāngrini. ¿'. borchloo ātar:

42. Auγloom, sowmay ôγloongnoo artukh khooloongdan āsay. bilmasān qi khansi qeraqli boloor sanga:

44. Auγloom taymay sān sāning āsing bilay. eakhshi saγushlamay. day khartlarnuy hôrmatlay, qi hôrmat langaysān thāngridan. day sanga eakhshi boloor:

46. Auγloom igit wakhtnay ôqtam, qi igit wakhtungay tas bolmagaysān:

47. Auγloom bārmay sungarungay, qi ayakhunay basqay bolmagay qi boynoongnoo da basqay:

48. Auγloom qimsay bilay earγoo alnunay toorsang. bolma

gay qi eooraqlanip sozlagaysān, eôkhāsay neqi sozlasaylar, tatlulkh bilay djooap bārgaysān. boo earγoonoo anung oosnay eukharsān:

49. Auγloom āgar thāngridan nemay kholtkhay ātsang. awal anung booyrookhoo tibinay bôl day nā bilay ôrooch bilay alγsh bilay, andan songray toogallar thāngri kholtkhangnuy sāning:

50. Auγloom, eakhshirakh tir qi atungnu daymay eakhshi chkhargaysān. eôkhāsay qi sān sāni qôrq aytqaysān. thônlar bilay. qôrq qāchwloo dur eôkhāsay eakhshi at khalur māngi:

51. Auγloom eakhshirakh tur. sôkhoor qôz bilay. nāqi sokhoor ās bilay. sôkhoorlookh bilay' thārchay ôwrauir eooroomakhnu eôloonoong. eôkhāsay sôkhoor ās bilay, salur qônoo eôlnoo day barur qāndi ārqinay:

53. Auγloom eakhshirakh tur earlulkhnuy eγmagay, neqi khôajaylkhnu sachmagay:

55. Auγloom tārgagin sāning sozoongnoo eiuraqing bilay, da andan songray chkhar sozoongnoo aγzungdan. āgar boo ashni boo lay ātsang, barchasunaytatlu boloorsān:

56. Auγloom, qimāsaydan eaman soz ishitsang anuy iuraqingay toot. ɬ. kharush. ôleaman ôlar, day eakhshilkhqay khaytar:

57. Auγloom, hāch nemagay koolmay. ol qoolmakhtan talash boloor. day ol oorooshdan ôloom bôloor:

58. Auγloom ealγan sôz day ealγanchilkh alay alur dur. nechiq khorgashin, az koondan songray eoγarny minar nechiq tiraqning eaprakhuy:

59. Auγloom ayt sāning kichi saγushungni dostoongay, āgar ol sāning saγushungnuy alani ātmasay. boloor sān angar ooloo sagushungnuy day aytmagay, da anuy inamli qônoo dôst boloorsān tootmagay.

60. Auγloom, daymay bolooshoochi bôl khaulay beylar alnunay sāning qrisdanliqingay. soz bilay dayakhchay bilay. alay toot qi anuy, aslannung aγzundan khootkharusān. da ol sangay kaybat dur da farhq:

61. Auγloom āgar dooshmanung kelsay ayakhungay bôshatlkh kholmay. bôshat angar, day iuraqing bilay qool. day thāning bilay faraklan. day eopsoon anuy:

62. Auγloom khayday sāni oondamasaylar hormatlap. anday barmayday kimāsay sāndan soz sormasay. anday djooap bārmay. day ol akhun soowqibāq. boozlamiyir. anchayday bazup iuroomay ayakhung bilay. bôlmagay qi wakhtsuz tas bôlgaysān:

66. Auγloom, sunagin oγlarlarungu achlkh bilay, day soosamakh bilay, day misqinliq bilay day āsqi bazukh thônlar bilay. āgar tozoomloo āsay, bār tirliqingni khôloonay:

67. Auγloom khachan sāni garggay oondaysalar. eay toygay. djahd āt barchay sungarungdan booroon chkhqaysān. da eanay $\overline{r}$ inchi barmagaysān. thāngridan eakhshi at alursān. day towoosh almasān bashungay:

70. Auγloom āgar earlu āsang nay sungarlarung arasunay alani ātmay. qi ayblanmagaysān day sowoongay day khoolakh khoymazlar:

74. Auγloom, saning surungnu eapookhoongnoo khatunungay achmay. anung oochoon qi khatun kirchi sur sakhlamas tur. alani ātar khartashlarunay ooroosh qôqoonay. day sāni tabaylarlar:

75. Auγloom ichqili ôlsang, sakhlay tilingni kôp sozlamakhtan. sangay eakhshi boloor day oosloo oondalirsān:

76. Auγloom qimsagay alasang tirliqingni bārmagay. bithiqsiz mohoorsooz tanukhsuz bārmay, bārding āsang tanar, day sān khayγooroop gayifsinirsān tirliqingni.

77. Auγloom eakhshi dosdoongdan eirakhlanmay. āgar eirakhlan' dungāsay eay taparsān anung qi dosd eay tapmasān:

79. Auγloom eakhshirakh tur qi sāning tirliqing ôγoorlangay neqi oostoongay ôγoorlookh tapoolgay:

80. Auγloom qimgay qi thāngri bārip dir ôsān anuy hôrmatlay, day khartlarnuy qôrsang bôr. qoong chkhar day toor ayakhung oosnay anung alnunay, day siylay anuy:

81. Auγloom barlu tirliqli adamgay fakhilliq ātmay eay akahlkh. akah kishining kôzoon nemay thoydoormas, tāq thôfrakh:

82. Auγloom khunamkhôslookh ātmay, zeray eakhshilkh ootirliq oo mal thāngridan dir. day earlulkh keldi āsay, araday eoorooganni sôqarlar:

84. Auγloom, euγlay day barmay dôstoong ôwinay qirip chkhmay. songray adjuzlanup soqarday sāni:

85. Auγloom it qi salgay kendi āyasin day artungdan kelgay, tash al day oor, qi artungdan kelmasin:

86. Auγloom, eakhshikhlungan adam, day aroow iuraqtan alγshetqan. khabool dur thāngrigay. da ooγattan khorkh nechiq thangridan

87. Auγloom, eaman saγushday iuraqqaychkhqan āsqi dooshman tur. day tozoomlooq foondoomānti dur kharlarunung. day bāqliqi dir dinning.

89. Auγloom sow qônoolookhnoo day ealγaunu hāch āt. daymay khoolakh khoy thāngrining booyrookhoonay, day āski dooshmandan khorkhmay. thāngrining booyrookhoo eakhshi adamigay tash khalay dur:

90. Auγloom eaman oo ealγauchi adamidan khach, zeray akahlkh day barchay eaman nemay ealγauchilkhtan thoγar.

91. Auγloom earγoonoo sowmay āgar ootsang āgar outmasang dooshmanungnu. āwātosi thāngrining earγoosoondan khorkh:

92. Auγloom qimqi qônoo dir āsi bilay earlkhluy goonash tir, day qim qi ôchashir iuraqi bilay. day ôpqay soowar saykhlamay, ôl adam tamookhnoong kharamγoolookhoonay ôkhshar. day qim aroow achukh qôngoolloo door, ôl adam sadaγachi dir, day qim qi akah dir, āgar barlu āsay day āssiz dir:

93. Auγloom djmrining oowoonay qirmay. qirsang day' qāchiqmay, zeray tirliqingdan bôsh bôloorsān:

94. Auγloom sungarungnuy pambas, atmay, āgar eirakh tun āgar eoowookhdun, zeray eaman soz tārchay day tabindan etar, day alarnung arasunay talash boloor:

95. Auγloom thangri booyqooroop tur chaγurnu fārahliq oochoon. eokhāsay eaman erday, qeraqsiz erday eakhshirakh tur nemay eaman ichqaysān neqi ichqi:

95a. Auγloom ôl toorloo dir āsiriqadam, nā toorloo qi ôkhqirgay boornoonoong ichinay. ôzgagay tiymaytāq qāndining tābasinay:

96. Auγloom djimri adam ôl toorloo saγushlar qāndining āsi-

nay qi mān bahatur mān, day qachmān day neqi sozlarmān, akhul oos bilay sozlar mān, anu bilmas tir qi côlookhoor anung qibiq āsli qach adamigay, qi toot qachôq khôloondan ergay oorar day ôldooroor:

97. Auγloom qôrsang dooshmanungnu qi eatup tur, sān anuy khayγoor, anung oochan qi doot ātarsān sangay, āgar qi qooltqoo ātsang, toorsay sangay laman ātar:

98. Auγloom asruy āsiriq adam saγushlar qi er bir gasinay aylanir. anuy bilmas bashi aylaniyir, zeray qi er dir barchay emishlarning anasuy, ôl toorloo artukhsu ichmakh tur barchay eamannung anasu. tit sinmiyin eamanlkhqay salur, day earlγamiyin ôldooroor adamini, day qildirir day ôkhshatur djanawargay:

99. Auγloom khach adami oochoon iuq bolmakhtan. āgar eooq bol doong āsay alay toot qi toosnakhungnu bārdinā angar. āgar wakhtunay bārmading āsay, sakhalungnu $\overline{ш}$ $\overline{ш}$ eookhlarlar:

100. Auγloom, ealγanchi bolmay. āgar sāni $\overline{ш}$ sahat ealγanchi taptuylar āsay, qônoo day sozlasang ealγanchi saγushlarlar day inamaslar day barchay erday ealγanchi aytsarlar:

101. Khaytup Khikar ayttuy oosloolarung akhulun nadangay, khardashu ôγloonay. $\overline{ч}$ psh bar qi adamning qozoonoong earukhun arturur:

102. Awalgi bakhqayārday chichaqlar oosnay. $\overline{ғ}$ inchi ealan aysi eooroogay cashil oosnay. $\overline{ч}$ oonchi qi akhun soowday eooroogay. $\overline{ч}$ oonchi côlchoolarin qôrqay eirakhtakilarin:

103. Khaytup $\overline{ч}$ ishar qi adam ôγloon semirtir. booroongi kiyiuish. $\overline{ғ}$ inchi eakhshi soz ishitaay daymay. $\overline{ч}$ oonchi kendining ôγlanlaruy bilay, day khoolkhootanu bilay. sôwôqloo tirilgay:

104. $\overline{ч}$ oonchi nemay eaman soz ishitsay ishitmamish bolsoon:

105. Eanay $\overline{ч}$ ish bar qi adam oγloo qendinay hôrmat kiltirir daymay' eakhshi sozoo, misqinlit ātqani, day āqsiq sozlagani, day ooyalganuy ooloodan kichidan:

106. Khaytub $\overline{ч}$ ish bar qi adamnung eoozoonoong soowoon qetarir. booroongi qi ashukh bolgay eaman khatungay. $\overline{ғ}$ inchi qi qôp sozlagay. day aytqay qi mānim qibiq qimāsay sozlamay

bôlmas dabilmas. 𐰴 oonchi qi eakhshilarnung sozoo arasunay qirgay. day ooroop boozgay. 𐰴 inchi qi eakhshilarnung sozoo arasunay qirgay. day ooroop boozgay. 𐰴 inchi qi aytqay. bilir mān. day ealγau sozlagay:

107. Eanay sortoolar oosloo Khikargay, qi nā dir dooneaday tattuy: Ayttuy Khikar. eooznung ooyatuy: Qimning eoozoonoong ooyatuy bar, ôl tatlu dur, zeray qi barchay nemay garsuzlkhtan thôγar.

108. Boo ādi mānim ôgootoom, khaysiqi mān khikar ayttum mānim khardashum ôγloonay nathangay: Day mān bilmadim mēnim ôgootoomnoo hāch āttiday tozdoordoo nechiq thôfrakhnu elgay ootroo:

109. Bashladuy eanfanlamay khangay, day barchay malumnu, khaznammuy, tirliqimni bashladuy tas ātmagay, khoollarumnu ôltoormagay, kharavazlarumnuy ooyatlamay. anchay qi mānim apāsdan atlu khatunumay day khôl salmayqladi, qi anu qichidan ôstoordoo da āsqa kiltirdi:

110. Boo ishlarni ātqandan songray mangay, bardum mān khanumay day anglattum nadannung eamanlkhun, soordoom day qetardim khatumdan. da ayttum, daγun sāning ārqing eôkhtoor mānim tirliqimay:

111. Daγu eaman bashladuy māni khangay eamanlamay, anchay qi bashumay kiltirdi qi khan booyoordoo qi āldingiz day qesingiz khikarnu:

112. Day ôl kishilar day djalatlar mānim tooch ôtmaqimni oonootmaduylar, chôqoop day khôltkhay āttim day ayttum. bar dur mānday 𐰃 adam mangay okhshash day ôloomloo ish ātip tir. anung bashun qesingiz mānim oochoon day māni sakhlanguz qeraq bolgay mān 𐰃 koon mānim khanumay:

113. Khikarnu sakhladuylar day kichini qestilar:

114. Khangay khabar barduy qi Khikar kesildi, asôresdan ooloosoo khayγoogay tooshdoo.

115. Qettilar ooloostan day faravon khangay bārindilar. ishitti faravon khan qi Khikar qesildi.

116. Ooloo ālchilar eberdi Sānāqarām khangay, qi eber mangay

anung qi adam qi nāqi sorsam djooap bārgay. day nā toorloo adam qi oosloo day akhulu bolgay qi nā toorloo awadanlkh aytsam mangay toozgay:

117. Senāqarām khan oondatti ooloo beylarin da sarnattu bithiqnā: Ayttuy khan dā boo ishqay qim djoowap bārir:

118. Ayttuylar khanum qimāsay bôlmas boo ishqay djooap bārmay, tāq nadan qi khikardan ôwrandi barchanuy:

119. Oondatti khan nadannu, day ayttu bôloormisān boo ishqay djooap bārmay. ayttuy nadan mān doogool eôkhāsay mānim qi 𐰃 day bôlsay, bôlmas moungar djooap barma:

120. Andan songray khan gayifsindi khikarnu quendining beylari bilay khorkhoop faravon khandan, qi ooloo dscheroow bilay qilmagay oosnay:

121. Da ayttu sānāqarām khan, qim qi mangay khikarnuy toorγooγsayādi, earum khanlkhumnu angar bārir ādim:

122. Keldi aboosmak atlu bey day attuy māngi tiridir Khikar. nechiq ayttuy barduy day keltirdi thāzindan Khikarni, da toorγooztoo khaunung alnunay, day Khikar ôloochirāyin alup āti:

123. Qôrtoo khan day asruy soowoondoo, day ayttuy alγshlu dur thāngri. qi boo goon khikarnuy ôloodan toorγooztoo eberdi anuy khan, qi bar arun, day eoowoon, day semir 𐰴 koonday diray qeraqsān mangay:

124. Khachan qi 𐰴 koondan songray qeldim khan khatunay, ayttuy khan. sānim (above line mānim) alafunnuy ishittingmi mangay nā ālchilar eldi faravon khandan:

125. Ayttum khanum, mān bariyim boyoom bilay da tooziyim boo ishlarni. barchay barduy da toozdoo, day easasuy:

126. Day keldi ooloo soowoonchlooq bilay day ooloo bashkhshlar bilay faravon khandan, Senāqarām khangay khan ootroosoonay chkhtu ooloo beylari bilay:

127. Khaytup keldilar kimlar khachup ādilar ishittilar, qi Khikar tiri dir:

128. Andan songray ayttuy khan, nāqlarsān sangay bārāyim:

129. Attu khanum sāndan nemayqlam antāq mangay khardashum oγloon nadaunu bār:

130. Khachan bārdi mangay nadannuy. ayttum khooloomay. baylamay stôlpqay. anchakh daγun qopaytmakhtan songray, ⁻ soz ayturādim, day khooloom khanchilarādi:

131. Ayttum ôγloom thāngrim mānim sakhladuy māni, mānim anmeγlkhum bilay, day sāni tas atti. sāning eamanlkhungay qôray:

132. Thāngri ādkhay sāning day mānim aramuzgay earγoonu:

133. Aul sahat eshitti day chatladuy. day ayttum ôγloom eakhshi khlungan eakhshi tapar. day eaman khlungan eaman tapar:

134. Day kim kimgay chooγoor khalsay qendi tooshar:

135. Eakhshilkh eakhshilkh bilay toogal lanir, day eamanlk eamanlkh bilay toogallanir:

136. Boo goongay diyin djaht ātsen ôγool athaynung anaynung alγshun algay day qônoolooq bilay eooroogay. ammān:

[1] Խրատ և խնամատուութիւն խիկարայ
զոր ուսանին որդիք մարդկան.

Յամն և 'ի թագաւորութեան սինէքերիմայ արքային
Նինուէի և ասորեստանի՝ ես խիկար դպիր սինէքերիմայ
արքայի վաթսուն կին առի, և վաթսուն ապարանս շինեցի.
Եւ ես խիկարս վաթսուն տարու եղայ և ոչ եղև ինձ որդի.
Յայնժամ մտի առ չաստուածոն բազում ընծայիւք.
բորբոքեցի հուր առաջի չաստուածոցն, և արկի զնուէկս[2]
ի վերայ նորա. և մատուցի ընծայս և զոհեցի զոհս, եղի
ծուխն և ազաչեցի և[3] այսպէս ասէի յաղաչելն իմում՝

Ով տէրք իմ և չաստուածք, Նեզշեմ և Շիմիլ և
Շամին[4], հրամայեցէք և տուք ինձ արու զաւակ. քանզի
խիկար ահա կենդանի մեռանի. և զինչ ասեն մարդիկ՝
եթէ խիկար կենդանի և խնամատուն և ձարտար մեռաւ, և
ոչ կայ իւր որդի որ թաղէ զնայ, և ոչ դուստր որ լայ զնա.
Յունիմ ժառանգ կեա մնհուան իմոյ, և ոչ[5] եթէ որդի

[1] Titulum ex Veneto traxi. *խիկարայ* vel *խիկարի* vel *խիկարոյ* alii codd. Initium apud Bod deest paginae iactura.

[2] *զխուէնկս*] + *և անուշս* 58 et 131 et Edjm.

[3] Paris 58 omit *և* et verba *աս. յաղ. իմ.*

[4] *շիմիլ և շահմին* 131.

[5] Paris 58 omit *ոչ*, item om *կեաի*, item *առ որս.*

յեսի աւուրն քանքար տասն ծախեսցէ, ոչ կարէ սպառել[1] զինչս իմ։ այլ զի արկցէ հող ձեռօք իւրովք[2] ի վերայ իմ, զի մի մնացից անյիշատակ.

Յայնժամ ձայն եղև ի չաստուածոցն և ասէին՝ խիկար չէ հրամայեալ քեզ զաւակ. բայց եթէ առցես զնաթան[3] քեռորդին քո և սնուցանիցես զնա քեզ որդի. և հատուսցէ քեզ զսնունդս[4] քո.

Եւ յորժամ լուայ զայս ի չաստուածոցն, առի զնաթան քեռորդին իմ, մի տարոյ էր. և հագուցի նմայ բեհեզս և ծիրանիս, և մանեակ ոսկի ի պարանոց նորա կապեցի[5]. և որպէս որդի թագաւորի զեղաշուք զարդարեցի զնա. և արբուցի նմա կաթն և մեղր և ննջեցուցանէի զնա կ վերայ արծուեաց և աղաւնեաց իմոց մինչև եղև եօթն ամաց[6]. Սպա սկայ նմա ուսուցանել զդպրութիւն և զիմաստութիւն, և զհանճար գիտութեան և զպատասխանիս հրովարտակաց, զպարձուածս հակառակաց խաւսից. ի տուէ և ի գիշերի ոչ դադարէի յուսուցանելոյ զնայ. Եւ յաղեցուցանէի զնա յուսմամբ, իբրև հացիւ և ջրով։

Սպա ասէ արքայն ընդ իս. խիկար դպիր և իմաստուն, գիտեմ զի ծերացեալ ես, և յեսի վախճանի քոյ ո՞վ է որ կատարէ ճարտարութեամբ և իմաստութեամբ զգործս

[1] *սպառ sic* Ven.

[2] *ձեռաց իմոց* Ven male.

[3] sic semper Ven : *նադան* ceteri.

[4] *զնունդս* e canonico restitui. Latet graecismus : ἐκτίσει σοι τὰ τροφεῖα, qualia vertisse Armenum manifestum est. Scriba aliquis Armenus sermonem graecissantem non agnoscens pro *զնունդս* scripsit *զանուն* = 'nomen,' quod quamvis apud Ven, 58, Bod reperitur, insulsum est. Cod Edjm 2048 insulsitatem miratus tentat : *և նա լցուսցէ զտեղի անուան քո* = 'et ille replebit locum nominis tui.'

[5] Paris 58 et 131 omit *կապեցի*.

[6] Bod post *ամաց* add *տարեան*.

ալքունեաց մերոց. և ես արտում եմ յայդմ խորհրդոյդ. Եւ ասեմ ցնա. ալքայ յաւիտեան կաց. է իմ որդի որ[1] է առաւել քան զիս և է աւելի հանճարեղ. Եւ ասէ Թագաւորն՝ աճ զնա առ իս, զի տեսից. Եւ իբրև աճի
fol. 2 ro զնայ և կացուցի[2] առաջի Թագաւորին՝ ետես, և ասէ՝ յաւուրս իւրում ահեղաւ եղեցի խիկար, զի ի կենդանութեան իւրում էած կացոյց առաջի իմ զորդին իւր. և ինքն[3] ի հանգստեան եղեցի. Երկիր պագի տեառն իմոյ և առեալ տարայ զնաթան յապարանս իմ, և այսպէս ասէի յուսուցանելն իմում[4].

Որդեակ՝ եթէ լսես բան ինչ ի դրանէ ալքունի, մեռոյ և Թագո զնա ի սրտի քումմ, և մի ումեք ի վերայ հանիցես. Օձկասն կնքեալ[5] մի արձակել[6], եւ զարձակեալն մի կապեցես. Եւ զոր տեսանես մի ասել, և զոր լսես մի յայտնել[7]։

Որդեակ՝ մի համբառնալ 'ի վեր զաչս քո տեսանել զկին գեղեցիկ յունեալ և ծարիւրեալ, մի ցանկանայցես 'ի սրտի քումմ. զի եթէ նմա տացես զամ ինչս քո՝ առաւել[8] 'ի նմանէ ոչ ինչ գտանես, այլ դատապարտիս յայ և 'ի մարդկանէ. քանզի նման է նա գերեզմանի որ ի վերոյ

[1] որ է առաւել աւելի և հանճարեղ քան զիս և ասէ Paris 131 et 58.

[2] Incipit codex Bod.

[3] ինքն om Bod, 58.

[4] Canon add : ականջ արայ որդի իմ խօսակին և խրատն իմ. գրիր ի մատանին քումմ. և մի մոռասցիս. զի ամք կենաց քոյ շատանայ, և փառք և մեծութիւք հասցես 'ի ծերութիւն.

[5] կապեալ Bod.

[6] արձակեսցես Bod.

[7] զոր—յայտնել Ven et 58 : Bod om.

[8] Apud Canon ita : ոչ ինչ աւելի գտցես քան զքո միայն մեղս և ամենի ի մարդկանէ և դատաստանն այ et cetera om : similia Edjm : Bod male ita : ոչ ինչ իւիք 'ի նմանէ աւգտիս, առաւել քան թէ դատ. յայ արդար իրաւանց է իմ.

զեղեցիկ լինի, և ի նեղքս լե է ժահահոտութբ և ոսկերաւք մեռելոց :

Որդեակ՝ մի լինիլ[1] *որպէս նշինի, որ յառաջ ծաղկի և յետոյ հասանի՝ զպտուղն իւր. Ալլ լեր որպէս թզենի որ յետոյ ծաղկի և յառաջ հասանի զպտուղ իւր :*

Որդեակ՝ լաւ է ընդ առն իմաստնոյ քարինս կրել, քան ընդ առն անմտի զինի ըմպել :

Որդեակ՝ ընդ իմաստունս մի անմարթ և ընդ անմիտս մի իմաստանար :

Որդեակ՝ կցորդ լեր[2] *առն իմաստնոյ, որ իմաստուն լինիս որպէս զնա. և մի լինիր կցորդ անզգամի և անմտի, զի մի որպէս զնոսա*[3] *անմիտ կոչեսցիս :*

Որդեակ՝[4] *հեղգես զգինի քո*[5]*, և մի ընպել*[6] *ընդ անըզգամս և ընդ անաւրէնս*[7]*, զի մի արհամարհեսցիս ի նոցանէ*[8] *:*

Որդեակ՝ մի լինիր կարի քաղցր՝ որ կլանեն զքեզ, և fol. 2vo
մի կարի դառն՝ որ թքանեն զքեզ. Ալլ լեր հեզ, հանդարտ ի գործս գնացից քոց և յամ բանս :

Որդեակ՝ մինչդեռ կաշխէք ի յոտաէ, կոխեա զփուշն և արա ճանապարհ որդոց[9] *քոց :*

Որդեակ՝ մեծատան որդին աւձ կերաւ՝ ասեն դեղ է նմա. աղքատին որդին[10] *հկեր և ասեն՝ ի սովու կերաւ :*

[1] *լինիլ* Ven : *լինիր* cet, sed Ven sic utitur infinitivo passim, quem sequor.

[2] add *ընդ* Bod, 58.

[3] *գնա* Bod, 58.

[4] 58 hic omit adagium hoc.

[5] *Հեղգես զգինին* et om *քո* Ven : ceteri et Edjm add *քո*.

[6] *ըմպեր զնա* Bod et 58.

[7] *անզգամին և անաւրինին* Ven : ceteros et Edjm secutus sum.

[8] Canon et Edjm : *իբրև զնոսա*.

[9] *որդոց* Canon cum Syriac : *ոտից* ceteri.

[10] om *որդին* Bod.

Զ՞քո մասն կեր խաղապատիթ[1], և քո ընկերին պահպ մի արկաներ. և ընդ անեղկիս դի ի ճանապարհ մի երթալ, և ընդ[2] անցագամի հաց մի ուտել։

Որդեակ՝ եթէ[3] տեսանես գիշնամին քո գլորեալ՝ մի ծաղր առնել զնա. զի եթէ կանկնի նա՝ չար հատուցանէ[4] քեզ։

Որդեակ՝ անկանի անաւրէնն ի չար գործոց իւրոց[5], և կանկնի արդարն 'ի բարի գործոց իւրոց։

Որդեակ՝ մի մերձենայր 'ի կին անցագամ և բանբանասող, զի մի արհամարհեսցիս ի նոցանէ, և դու ծաղր լինիս[6] և նա՛յ յափշտակէ զքեզ։

Որդեակ՝ զորդիդ ի ծեծ[7] մի խնայիր. զի ծեծ մանկան այնպէս է որպէս աղբն 'ի պարտիզի, և որպէս կապն և մատն եհար ի քսակի. և որպէս կապն ի իշուն ոտքն՝ այնպէս աւգուտ է ծեծ տղային[8]. զի թէ ծեծես գաւազանաւ մի և կամ երկուս՝ նայ խելաւքնայ հանդարտութիթ՝ ոչ մեռանի. բայց եթէ թողուս զնա ի կամն իւր՝ գող լինի և տանեն զնա ի կախումն և ի սպանումն և լինի քեզ նախատինք և բեկումն։

Որդեակ՝ ուսոյ զորդին քո ի քաղց և ի ծարաւ, որ խոնարհութիթ՝ վարեսցէ զկեանս իւր։

[1] կեր քաղաղութիթ՝ Ven et Canon : om քաղ. Bod et 58.

[2] և հետ Ven.

[3] om տեսանես et զ Bod.

[4] հատուցանէ քեզ եւ լինի հանապազ չար կամ Ven : հատ. քեզ et om cet 58 : առնէ քեզ et cet om Bod.

[5] չար գործաւք Bod, 58.

[6] ծաղր լինիս Ven : կատակես cet.

[7] զորդիդ ի ծեծ Ven : զգան որդո քո ceteri, item infra bis գան.

[8] այնպէս—տղային om Bod ; cetera ap Bod et 58 ita : զի եթէ հարկանես գաւազանաւ մի կամ երկուս հանդարտի, բայց ոչ.

Որդեակ՝[1] զԹշնամին որ ասեն[2] մի ընդուներ, զի զքոյդ նոքայ ասիցեն։

Որդեակ՝[3] յառաջ սիրէ մարդ[4] սուտ, բայց[5] յետոյ առեալն լինի քեզ. զի բան ըսուտ որպէս լոր պարարտ է, բայց որ անմիտ է, նայ կլանէ զնա։

Որդեակ՝ սիրեա զՅայրն՝ որ ծնաւն զքեզ, և զանէծս fol. 3ro
հաւր և մաւր[6] քո մի առցես, զի ի բարուքէ որդոց քոց խնդասցես.

Որդեակ՝ առանց զինու[7] ձանապարհ մի երթայր՝ զի մի Թշնամին քո պատահեսցէ զքեզ և կորընչէս։

Որդեակ՝ որպէս վաելուչ է ծառն պտղով և ոստով և լերինք է անտառախիտ մայրաւք՝ այնպէս վայելուչ է այր և կին[8] և որդի և եղբայր, ազգական և բարեկամ և ամենայն զարմիք[9]։

Որդեակ՝ որոյ ոչ գոյ կին կամ որդի կամ եղբայրս և ազգական և բարեկամ՝ յերկար ամաւք արհամարհեն. և նման է ծառոյ որ յանդս ձանապարհի իցէ և ամենեքեան որ անցանեն ընդ նայ աերևաթափ և ձղայ կոտոր առնեն զնայ.

Որդեակ՝[10] մի ասեր Թէ ո՞րն իմ անմիտ է և ես խնամատուն, այլ համբերեա նմա անմտուԹբ, և առ խնամատուն ունիցես զանձն քո, մինչև այլ ոք զովեսցէ զքեզ։

Որդեակ՝ մի ումէք ասել չար և մի լինել չարախաւս առաջի ո՞ն քո, զի մի անարգեսցիս ի նմանէ։

[1] Ven om որդեակ. [2] զբան Թշ. քո որ ասիցէ քեզ Bod.
[3] Sententiam hanc om 58. [4] գմարդն Bod 58.
[5] բայց Ven Canon : և տես եԹէ Bod 58.
[6] հաւր Ven 58 : մաւր Bod : հաւր և մաւր Canon cum Slavonico.
[7] ի գիշերի praem Canon cum Slavonico.
[8] om և կին Ven : add 58 Bod et Canon.
[9] և ամ. զարմ. om Bod 58. [10] Adagium hoc om 58.

Որդեակ՝ յաւուր գոհից, մի՛ խոտորիր, զուցէ ոչ հաճեսցի տ՛ր ի զոհս քո[1]։

Որդեակ՝ մի թոզուլ գալխան, և երթալ ի հարսանիսն. զի ամենեցուն մահ առաջի կայ և պատուհաս մեծ է։

Որդեակ՝ մատանի ոսկի որ չէ քո՝ մի դներ ի մատինս քում. և մի հագանիր[2] բեհեզս և ծիրանիս որ չէ քո. կա՛մ ձի որ չէ քո՝ մի հեծնուլ[3] գնա, զի ծաղր առնեն տեսողքն[4]։

Որդեակ՝ թէպէտ և քաղցեալ իցես՝ որ հաց[5] չէ քո մի ուտիցես։

Որդեակ՝ որ[6] զաւրաւոր է քան զքեզ՝ մի հակառակիլ ընդ նմա. զուցէ սպանանիցէ զքեզ։

Որդեակ՝ ձմեռա և մաշեայ զգեստն ի սրտէ քումմէ, և բարի լինի քեզ յայ և ի մարդկանէ և ըստ ըզակիս կամաւքն այ։

Որդեակ՝ թէ բարձր են շեմք[7] յերկինսն իբրև կանկուն է, յորժամ մտանիցես խոնարհեցոյ զգլուխ քո։

Որդեակ՝ մի առնուլ կշռով մեծ և մի տալ փոքր կշռով. և ասել[8] թէ շահեցայ. զի այծ ոչ տայ, այլ
fol. 3vo բարկասցի[9], և դու սովամահ կորընչիս։

Որդեակ՝ մի երդնուլ սուտ, զի մի յաւուրց քոց պակասեսցին[10]։

Որդեակ՝ աւրինացն այ ունկն դիր, և չարէն մի երկընչիր. զի պատուիրանն այ պարիսպ է մարդոյ։

[1] + զոր առնես 58.
[2] ագանիր Ven. [3] հեծեր Bod : հեծներ Canon.
[4] add ի գիտելն գնա Bod : որ գիտեն զքեզ 58.
[5] որ հաց որ Bod : որ հացն Canon : հաց որ ceteri : item post իցես add յոյժ Bod : add կարի Canon.
[6] մարդ որ Bod 58.
[7] չէնի Ven male : add տան քո Bod, 58.
[8] ասել corr : ասեն Ven : ասես ceteri.
[9] այլ բար. om Bod, 58.
[10] յաւուրք քո պակասցեն ի վերայ երկրի Bod, 58.

Որդեակ՝ ի բազմութիւն որդւոց քոց մի խնդասցես, և ի պակասել նոցա մի տրտմեսցիս.

Որդեակ՝ որդիք և սաացուածք յայ՜ ընորհին, մեծատունն աղքատանայ[1], աղքատն մեծանայ. խոնարհն բարձրնանայ. և բարձրն խոնարհանայ։

Որդեակ՝ եթէ բարձր են շէմք տան քո և[2] ընկերն քո հիւանդանայ, մի ասեր թէ զի՞նչ տանիմ նմա. այլ երթ ոտիւք և տես աչաւք, զի լաւ է նմա քան զՀազար[3] քանքարս ոսկոյ և արծաթոյ։

Որդեակ՝ վասն չարախաւսութե՜ ոսկի և արծաթ մի առնուլ. զի գործ մահաբեր է և չար յոյժ. և մի հեղուլ արիւն արդար ի տարապարտուց, զի մի[4] հեղցի արիւն քո փոխանակ արեան նորայ։

Որդեակ՝ պահեա զլեզու քո ի չարայխաւսութենէ, և ղաչ քո յարատ հայիցի, և զձեռն քո ի գողութենէ. և բարի լինի քեզ յայ՜ և՝ի մարդկանէ. զի որ գողանայ ոսկի կամ այլ փոքր իրք՝ պատուհասն և սպանումն մի է։

Որդեակ՝ մի շնար ընդ կնոջ ընկերին[5], զի մի բարկասցի աստուած, և այլքն շնանան ընդ կնոջ քո։

Որդեակ՝ մի առնուլ կին այրի. զի յորժամ բանս ինչ լինի, ասիցէ՝ աւաղ առաջին այրն իմ, և դու տրտմիս։

Որդեակ՝ եթէ վըճիռ հասցէ քեզ՝ այ՜ մի խոտորիր և ձրձգո՛ր, զի մի բարկասցի ա՜ծ և այլ խաստգոյն ի տարաժամ սատակէ զքեզ։

Որդեակ՝ մի սիրել զորդին քո առաւել քան զծառայն

[1] Bod et 58 om մեծ. աղք.
[2] om բարձր—քո և Bod, 58 et Canon.
[3] om զՀազար Bod, 58.
[4] om մի Ven.
[5] add քոմ Bod, 58.

քո. զի ոչ պիտես եթէ ո՞[1] ի նոցանէ պիտանի լինի քեզ։

fol. 4ro Որդեակ՝ խաչինք որ զիհէն ի գատ դնան՝ գայլոց մատն լինիցին։

Որդեակ՝ դատեա զդատաստան արդար ի մտի քումմ, և գծերսն պատուեա, զի ի մեծ դատաւորէն դու պատուեսցիս[2] և լինի քեզ բարի։

Որդեակ՝ ցածոյ[3] զաչ քո և կակղացոյ զբարբառ բերանոյ քո և նայեա ընդ ակամբ քո. զի մի երևեսցիս մարդկան անընդդամ. զի եթէ աղաղակաւ տաճար շինէր՝[4] էշն ամէն աւրն .է. դարբաս[5] շինէր և չարտախ.

Որդեակ՝ մի հպարտանար աւուր մանկութեան քո, զի մի կորուսցէ զքեզ մանկութիւն քո։

Որդեակ՝ մի տալ թոյլ ընկերին քո կոխել զոտս քո, զի մի համարձակեալ կոխեսցէ զպարանոցդ[6]։

Որդեակ՝ ընդ դատախազին քո առաջի դատաւորին ցաստմամբ մի խաւսիր. զի մի անընդդամ և անմիտ կոչեսցիս[7]. այլ զոր հարցանէ պատասխանի քաղցրութեամբ տացես, և զդատաստան նորայ ի գլուխ նորայ կուտեսցես։

Որդեակ՝ եթէ խնդրեսցես յայլ բարի՝ նախ զկամն նորայ կատարեա՛ պահաւք, և աղաւթիւք, և ապայ կատարին խնդրուածք քո ի բարին։

[1] Ven om ո՞: Bod add բարի post քեզ sed del vult: sic apud 58: եթէ ի նոցանէ որ լինի քեզ պիտանի.

[2] պատուեսցիս Ven: պատիւ գնկալցիս ceteri.

[3] ցածոյ Canon: յընդացո՛ ceteri male.

[4] տաճար լինէր՝ Ven: տուն շինէր Canon et 69: om Bod; mox ամէն ex Canon traxi, quia Syriaco consonat.

[5] դարբաս Bod, Canon, 69: ապարան Ven; mox չարդախ Bod, quod om Canon.

[6] համարձակեսցէ զգլուխ քո կոխ. և զպար. Bod.

[7] և անպիտան երեւեսցիս et om զոր Bod.

Որդեակ՝ լաւ է անուն բարի՝ քան զտեսակ ցանկալի. զի դեղեցկութիւն ապականի[1]*, և անուն բարի միայ յաւիտեան։*

Որդեակ՝ լաւ է կոյր աչաւք՝ քան զկոյր մտաւք. քանզի կոյր աչաւք արագ ուսանի զերթ և եկ ճանապարհին. իսկ կոյր մտաւքն թողու զուղղորդ ճանապարհն և երթայ ըստ կամս իւր։

Որդեակ՝ լաւ է կող մի ի ձեռին քո՝ քան զդէր բուծ մի յայլոց ձեռին. լաւ է ձրնճղուկ մի ի ձեռին քո՝ քան զհազարս յերկինս[2] *թռուցեալ. լաւ է ուլ մի պատարագ*[3] *ի տան քում՝ քան զուարակ մի ի տան այլոց։*

Որդեակ՝ լաւ է աղքատութեամբ ժողովել՝ քան fol. 4vo
զմեծութեամբ ցրուել[4]*։*

Որդեակ՝ մի անիծաներ զորդին քո մինչև տեսանես վաղջան նորա, և մի արհամարհեսցես մինչև տեսանեսցես զկատարածն և զվճարն և զշահն։

Որդեակ՝ քննեա զբանն[5] *ի սրտի քում, և ապա ի վերայ հասանիցես. զի եթէ փոխես զբանն՝ քաղցր լինիս.*

Որդեակ՝ եթէ լսես բան չար զումեքէ՝[6] *թագո՛ զնա ի սրտի քում՝ կանկուն .է., զի այն չարն մեռանի և բարին կատարի։*

Որդեակ, ընդվայր մի ծիծաղել, զի ընդվայր ծիծաղելն կռիւ է, և կռիւն սպանումն է եւ մահ։[7]

Որդեակ՝ բան սուտ և ստախաւսութիւն որպէս արձիճ ծանր է. բայց յետ սակաւ աւուրց[8] *ի վերայ ջրին գայ որպէս տերև ծառոյ։*

[1] *ապականի* Ven, Canon : *անցանի* ceteri.
[2] Sic Ven et Canon : *ընդ յաւգս* ceteri.
[3] *պատ. ի տ. ք.* Bod, Canon : *ի տան ք. պարարտ* Ven.
[4] Bod *աղքատութիւն* et *զմեծութիւն.*
[5] *զբարի բանն* Bod : om *բարի* Ven, Canon.
[6] *զումեքէ* om Bod. [7] Hoc adagium apud Bod deest.
[8] *բայց պակաս յաւուրն* Bod.

Որդեակ՝ յայտնեա գիտդ խորհուրդ քո բարեկամին քո, և յեա առուրց գրպոյ գնա. և անարգ գնա. և եթէ[1] և զայն խորհուրդն ոչ յայտնէ՝ ապա զմեծ խորհուրդն յայտնեա նմայ, և հաւատարիմ սիրելի պահես գնա՛։

Որդեակ՝ առաջի թագաւորաց և առաջի դատաւորաց, աւգնական լեր ընկերին քո. զի որպէս ի բերանոյ առիւծոյ գերծուցանես գնա, և լինի քեզ անուն բարի և փառք։

Որդեակ՝ եթէ թշնամին քո եկեսցէ յոտն քո՝ թողութիւն շնորհեա նմա, և ծիծաղեա ուրախութ[ի]ւ յերեսս նորա, և ընկալ գնա պատուով։

Որդեակ չկոչեն գքեզ՝ մի երթայ ի պատիւ[2]. և ուր գքեզ չհարցանեն՝ մի տալ պատասխանի։

Որդեակ՝[3] ընդ սառուցեալ և ընդ յարուցեալ գետոյ մի անցանիցիս՝ զի մի յանկարծամահ մեռանիցես[4]։

Որդեակ՝ հարց զայր իմաստուն բան խրատական[5], և
fol. 5ro իմաստնասցիս. և եթէ հարցանիցես զայր անմիտ՝ բանիւք բազմաւք նա ոչ իմանայ։

Որդեակ՝ եթէ զայր իմաստուն առաքես ի բան մի ինչ պատուիրել, ինքն կատարէ զբանն. Այլ թէ զանմիտն առաքես՝ առաջի բազում մարդկան պատուիրէ. և կամ դու գնա և գնա մի յերեր։

Որդեակ՝ փորձեա զորդին քո ի քաղց և ի ծարաւ, և թէ կարող իցէ՝ ապա տուր զինչս քո ի ձեռին նորա։

Որդեակ՝ ի կոչնատանէ և ի հարսանեաց յառաջել

[1] և տես եթէ Bod : om տես Ven et Canon.
[2] որ չիկոչէս ի պ. մի երթայր Bod.
[3] om որդեակ Ven. [4] անբնկմահ լինիս Ven.
[5] բան խրատական Ven : բանս իմաստութ[ի]ւ Bod.

քան զընկերն քո[1], և այլ մի դառնալ յետս[2]. զի անուն քո[3] բարի առնուս և չառնուս վէրք ի գլուխ քո։

Որդեակ՝ մարդ որ ստացուածք և ինչք բազում ունի, կոչեն զնա իմաստուն և առաքինի. և որ ինչք պակաս ունի՝ կոչեն զնա անմիտ և անարդ, և ոչ ոք պատուէ զնա։

Որդեակ՝ կերայ դառնիճ և արբի լեղի, և ոչ էր լեղի[4] քան զաղքատութիւն. բարձի աղ և արձիճ, և ոչ էր ծանր քան զպարտքն. զի թեպէտ ուտէի և ըմպէի, ոչ կարէի հանգչել[5]. բարձի երկար և քարինս ի վերայ ուսոց իմոց, և լաւագոյն էր ինձ, քան զընակիլն ընդ անգիտաի և անմտի.

Որդեակ՝ եթէ աղքատ իցես ի միջի ընկերաց քոց՝ մի յայտնել, զի մի արհամարհիցիս ի նոցանէ, և բանից քոց ոչ լսեն.

Որդեակ՝ սիրեայ զմարմին քո և զկին քո, զի անձն քո է. և կցորդ կենաց քոց և յոյժ աշխատանաւք սնուցանէ զորդին քո[6].

Որդեակ՝ եթէ առաքէ տէրն քո թէ բեր սպտուր խաղող, մի բերել նմայ, զի գիտաղողն ուտէ և զպատուհասն սպտուրին ոչ թողու։

Որդեակ՝ լաւ է բան իմաստնոյ յաղթեցութեան՝ քան զբան անմտի ի ծաղաւութեան կամ լծծութեան. լաւ է ծառայ ղորդ՝ քան ազատ և սուտ. լաւ է բարեկամ մաւտևոր՝ քան եղբայր հեռաւոր։

Որդեակ՝ զգաղտ բան քո կնոջ մի յայտնել, զի տրկար

[1] քան զ. քո om Ven, sed Bod et Canon retinent.
[2] + յետս Ven.
[3] Հնգեսայ որ անուշ իւղով օծեցիր զգլուխ քո Canon : զի անուն—գլուխ քո (om քո Bod) ceteri. Lege անուշ et cf. Syriac.
[4] դառն Canon. [5] add մինչև հատուսցէ բպպարտան Canon
[6] Hic addit 58 denuo adagium 15.

է և փոքրոգի, և նա յայտնէ կարեւորացն և զու արհամարհիս ։

Որդեակ՝ եթէ դինի լմպես՝ պահեա զնեցու քո ի շատախաւսութենէ, և բարի լինի քեզ և կոչես խնաստուն ։

Որդեակ՝ զննչս քո առանց մուրհակի և վկայի մի տալ, գուցէ ուրանայ և զու ապաշաւես ։

Որդեակ՝ ի բարեկամէ քումէ մի հեռանար, գուցէ այլ ոչ գտանիցես այնպիսի խորհրդակից և բարեկամ[1] ։

Որդեակ՝ սիրեա զՀայրդ քո որ ծնաւն զքեզ, և զանէծս հաւր և մաւր քո մի առցես, զի ի բարւոքութիւն որդւոց քոց խնդասցես ։

Որդեակ՝ լաւ է թէ գողասցեն զննչս քո՝ քան թէ գայցեն ի վերայ քո գողութիւն[2] ։

Որդեակ՝ մարդ որ իրենն աստուածծ յաջողէ՝ զու պատուեա զնայ. և յորժամ տեսանիցես զծերն՝ զու յոտն կացիր առաջի նորա և մեծարեա զնայ ։

Որդեակ՝ ընդ առն ունեւորի և ընդ գեաոյ յարուցկոյ մի հակառակել. զի ապահ մարդոյն աչքն ոչ լցվի՝ քաւել[3] թէ հողով ։

Որդեակ՝ խնամիխաւսութի մի առնել, զի զբարին յայ և յբաջակէ տեսնուն, եւ զչարն ի քէն է և ասեն զքո դէմ հանաւղն ։

Որդեակ՝ եթէ դադարեն գեաք ի գնացից կամ արեգակն յընթացից նորա, կամ քաղցրասցի լեղի որպէս մեղր, կամ սպիտակասցի ագռաւն որպէս զաղաւնի, նոյնպէս թողցի անզգամն զանզգամութիւն իւր և անմիտն զգաստասցի[4] ։

[1] Hoc adagium tantum apud 58 exstat.
[2] Tantum apud 58 exstat hoc adagium.
[3] 69 ita : լցի գանձով. մինչև լցի հողով.
[4] բզգնացս իւր Canon (No. 86).

Որդեակ՝ մի յաձախեր երթայր ոսիւք ի[1] տուն բարեկամի քո՝ գուցէ[2] ատիցէ զքեզ.

Որդեակ՝ շուն որ թողու զէրն իւր, եւ գայ զհետ քո՝[3] քարամբ չալածեայ զնա[4].

Որդեակ՝ գործք բարի և պատարագ անբիծ հաճո է այ. և յամառթոյ իբրև[5] յայ երկիր.

Որդեակ՝ խորհուրդ չար ի սիրտ առնուլն՝ դիւին[6] հակառակութիւն. և համբերութիւն հիմն է գործոյ[7] և ամրութիւն հաւատոյ.

Որդեակ՝ որ քեզ չար թուի՝ ընկերին քո դու[8] մի առնել. և զոր չէ քո՝ պլոց մի տալ:

Որդեակ՝ սիրեայ զշմարտութիւն և ատեա զանօրէնութիւն, և[9] զստութիւն. պատուիրանացն այ ունկնդիր, և ի չարէն մի վախել[10]. զի պատուիրանն այ պարիսպ է մարդոյ:

Որդեակ՝ ի մարդոյ չարէ և ի ստախաւսէ[11] փախիր, զի ազահութիւն մայր է ամ չարեաց[12] եւ ամ շարիք ի լբոու- fol. 5vo
թենէ ծնանին:

Որդեակ՝ զդատաստանն[13] մի սիրել. զի թէպէտ և յաղթեսցես ոսոխին, սակայն այ դատաստանէն երկիր:

[1] Canon զի մի յազեսցի և ատեսցէ զքեզ.
[2] երթայր om Ven, 58: ոսիւք add Canon: om ceteri.
[3] գհետ քո 58, Canon: գինի քո Ven.
[4] + որ ոչ գոյ Ven: + որ չիպայ Bod: om Canon.
[5] իբրեւ Ven, 58: այնպէս Bod.
[6] դիւին Ven et supra և սիրտ. [7] ծերոյ Ven, 58.
[8] om քո դու Ven, 58. Infra առնուլ dat Bod pro առնել.
[9] om զանօր. և Ven, 58.
[10] վախել Ven: երկրնչիր ceteri.
[11] ստախաւսութենէ Bod, 58.
[12] մեղայ Bod ubi secuntur verba: և ոչ չարեաց գի. Secutus sum Ven, 58.
[13] Canon add անիրաւութե.

Որդեակ՝ որ ողորդ[1] է մատաւքն, արեգակն[2] է լուսաւոր. և որ նենդէ՝ սրախս խաւարէ մոմացեալ, եւ որ առատ է սրախս՝ լի է ողորմութեամբ. որ ագահ է՝ թեպէտ և ունի ինչ, չիմար է։

Codex Paris 58 et cod Venet haec addunt adagia :

Ճ. Որդեակ՝ ի տուն յաբբեցողի մի մտանիր, և եթէ մտանես՝ մի յամիր. զի ի բարուց քոց յուշայն և դատարկ ճնաս։

Ճա. Որդեակ՝ զընկերս քո ի մօտոյ կամ ի հեռաստանէ՝ մի բամբասեր. զի բան չար շուտով փութով հասցէ ի ա՛րն և կռուիք։

Ճբ. Որդեակ՝ հրամայեալ է[3] ա՛ծ զգինին վասն ուրախութե՛ն. բայց ի տեղիս բոզանոցի և այլ վատթար և անպատշաճ տեղի, լաւ է աղբ ըմպել քան զգինի։

Որդեակ, այր արբեցող, այնպէս է՝ որպէս նետաք ի քիմն աղեղան, որ զայլ ոք ոչ հարկանէ, բայց զգլուխ իւր ծեծէ։

Ճգ. Որդեակ՝ այր արբեցող այնպէս կարծէ ի միտս իւր՝ թէ ես քաջ եմ. և զա՛մ զոր ինչ խօսիմ՝ իմաստութի՛ւն խօսիմ. ոչ գիտէ՝ թէ հանդիպի առն քաջամարդ՝ որ ի շշաւիղ ձեռաց իւրոց յերկիր կործանէ զնա և ձգէ.

Ճդ. Որդեակ՝ եթէ տեսանես զթշնամին քո գլորեալ, դու տրտմեա՛ ի վերայ նորա. զի բարեկամ առնես. ապա թէ ծաղր առնես զնա յորժամ կանգնի չար հասուցանէ քեզ։

Ճե. Որդեակ՝ այր արբեցող այնպէս կարծէ՝ եթէ երկիր շրջշրջէ. ի գալ ոչ գիտէ եթէ գլուխն իւր խելագրեալ է. քանզի, որպէս մայր է գեաինն ա՛մ

[1] i.e. *ուղղորդ* : *խորդ* 58 : *գուարթ* Canon.

[2] *արեգականն* 58. [3] Canon *արար*.

պաղոց և պաղաբերաց՝ նոյնպէս մայր է գինին ամ չարեաց. անխոհեր ախտիւ ախտանալ տայ, և անողորմ սպանանել. խեղդապէս զմարդն և անասնոց բնութիւն փոխէ։

ԿԶ. Որբեակ՝ փախիր երաշխաւորութենէ. ապա թէ երաշխաւոր կենաս, դու այնպէս կարծէ՝ որ ի գրեպանէ քո տաս. ոչ միայն ի գրեպանէ, այլ և ձողէն զմորուտդ։

ԿԸ. Որբեակ՝ ստախօս մի լինիր. զի եթէ ղքեզ ժամ մի սուտ գտանեն, երբ զղօրդն խօսիս՝ սուտ հաշուին և ոչ հաւատան։

Նա ես ասեմ ցնաթան՝ Որբեակ ի միտս քո առ զխրատս և մի մոռանար։

Չարցումն թագաւորաց որդւոց, և պատասխանի խիկարայ. Հուտայ և բաղնայն հարցան ի խիկարէն, և ասէ խիկար ի նաթան. չորս բան զմարդոյն աչաց զլոյսն շատացնէ՝ ի վերայ ծաղկանց նայիլն. բոկիկ գնանալ կոխիլն. և ի հետ ջրի վը գնալն. և գինր բարեկամին տեսնուլ.

Չորս բան[1] զմարդն զիրացնէ և առողջ պահէ. վուշ հագնելն[2] և լսել հանց բան որ իւրն[3] գինր թվի ի տանէն սիրան հեշտ և առողջ[4] և գինր հետաւորն բարով տեսնուլ[5]. Նա չորք իրք է որ զմարդոյն հարկիկն աւելցեն ամ ժամու[6] զբարի խաւսիլն, ամէն բանի ջուտպ չտայ[7], խոնարհ կենալն՝ պակաս խաւսիլն[8], ամաչէ ի փոքրէ և ի մեծէ. Նա .գ.

[1] Bod sic: *եւ .դ. իրք են որ զմարդն.* Similiter infra. Quae secuntur iuxta cod Bodleianum ordinavi usque ad initium codicis 92.

[2] *հագիլն* 58. [3] *իւրեանն* 58. [4] add *լի նայ* 58.

[5] Verba *Չորս բան* usque ad *տեսնուլ* plane om Ven: add Bod, 58; sed Bod confuse post *և ի մեծէ* infra.

[6] *ամ ժամու* Bod, 58: *զամ* Ven. [7] *ամէն—չտայ* om 58.

[8] *խաւսիլն* Ven: *պատասխան տալն* Bod, 58.

իրք է որ զմարդոյն երեսին ջուրն տանի՝ սիրոյ սէրու-
թիւնն, շատախաւսիլն[1] (և զոր ոչ պիտենայ պարծենայ)[2]
[ամէն բան թաքուցանելն. յարել ի ներս ընկնելն և զոր ոչ
գիտէ ի ներս ընկնի և ասէ][3] թէ գիտեմ և սատախաւսութի[4].
Հարցին պիտարխասին, և ասեն՝ եթէ յերկրի զի՞նչ կայ
քաղցր. Ասէ ամաւթ երեսաց. որ ամաւթ ունի քաղցր
է նա. զի՞մ չարիք ի լքութենէ և անմտութենէ
ծնանին. Եւ այս էր խրատն զոր ուսուցի նաթանա:
Այս[5] ո՞մ ուսուցի նաթանա քեռորդւոյ իմոյ, ես[6] խիկար
դպրապետս սինիքարիմի[7] ալքային. և այսպէս կարծեցի ի
մտի իմում՝ եթէ զուսումն և զխրատն զոր ուսուցի
նաթանա՝ կացցէ եւ մնասցէ, և պահեսցէ ի մտի իւրում:
fol. 6ro Եւ զիտէի եթէ զբանս իմ անտես արար, և հոսեաց որպէս
զփոշի ընդդէմ[8] հողմոյ, զայս եդեալ ի մտի իւրում՝ եթէ
հայրն իմ խիկար ծերացեալ[9] է յոյժ և հասեալ է ի
դուռն գերեզմանին. և զառածեալ են միտքն իւր և
պակասեալ են խորհուրդք իւր և ոչ ինչ գիտէ[10]: Ակսաւ
նաթան վատնել զո՞ր ինչս իմ[11] ի կորուստ, և ոչ խնայէր ի
ծառայս իմ և աղախնայս և տանջէր զնոսայ և սպանանէր,
և կոտորէր զձիս և զջորիս, և զերիվարս իմ: և զընտիր
յընտիրս ի հօտէ սատակէր: Եւ իբրև տեսի զնաթան

[1] om Bod. [2] (...) om Bod 58: *գիտէ* Ven.
[3] [...] om Ven: 58 sic habet *ամէն բան ի սիրտ ի ներս առնուլ. և զոր ոչ գիտենայ պարծենայ.* Infra Ven *ամօթ երեսացն, որ ամօթոյն ի քաղցրէ նայր, ա՞մ չարիք* et om *և անմտ.*
[4] *սատախաւսէ* 58.
[5] Incipit Paris Anc. Fonds Arm. 92 fol 179 r°.
[6] om Ven. [7] *Սինիքարիմայ* Ven.
[8] *ընդ հողմոյ* Ven: *ընդէմ հ.* Canon ceteri.
[9] *հայր իմ խիկար կենդանի է և ծեր* 58 and 92.
[10] usque ad *ինչ գիտէ* tantum collationem codicis 58 adhibui.
[11] *զինչս իմ* 92: *զինչս նորա իմ* Bod, sed *նորա* uult del.

քեռորդին իմ, որ զդործս իմ այլայլեաց[1] *և զինչս իմ վատնեաց, խաւսել սկսայ և ասեմ՝ ի բայց կայ յընչից իմոց, և մի մերձենար· զի գրեալ է յառաջն՝ եթէ ձեռք՝ որ ոչ են վաստակեալ՝ ամն նորա ոչ խնայէ*[2]*. և կրթեալ պատմեցի*[3] *սինէքերիմա տեառն իմոյ: Եւ նա կոչեաց զնաթան և ասէ. որչափ խիկար կենդանի է՝ յինչս նորա ոչ ոք մերձեսցի*[4]*: Յայնժամ առեալ նաթան զբուդան*[5] *եղբայրն իւր, զոր սնուցեալ էր ի տան իմոյ*[6] *և ասէ՝ խիկար հայրն իմ ծերացեալ է և բանք նորա անդամացեալ է. և ես իբրև լուայ զայս, յաւժ ընչից իմոց ի բայց արարի զնա: Եւ խորհուրդ արարեալ նաթան չարութեան ի սրտի իւրում. գրեաց յանուն իմ թուղթ*[7] *առ թագաւորն*[8] *սինէքերիմ, ազգային նինուէի և ասորեստանի. և ասէր այսպէս: Ես խիկար գպրապետս սինէքերիմա ազգայի*[9]*. առաքեցի առ եգիպտացոց թագաւորդ. եթէ յորժամ գիրս ի քեզ հասանի՝ գումարեսցես զզաւրս քո,* fol. 6vo *և եկեսցես ի գաշտս արծունեաց*[10] *որ աւրն. իե. լինի հրոտից ամնուն. և ես հնազանդեցուցից զաշխարհս ասորւոց. և տայց զաթոռն սինէքերիմայ*[11] *ի ձեռն քո*

[1] *յայլայլեաց* Ven 92: *այրեաց* Bod: *այլայփոխեաց նաթան զգործս իւր* Canon.

[2] *մի խնայեսցէ* 92 Canon: Bod add *յինչ այն.*

[3] *պատմեցի* Bod Canon: *պատմեն* Ven: *պատմեցին* 92 et om *սինէքարիմա.*

[4] *մի՛ մերժեսցիս* Ven: cp Canon *մի մերձենար*: Bod *ոչ ոք մերձեսցի.*

[5] *բուդան* Ven 92: *բաւդան* Bod.

[6] *իմոյ* 92: *իւրոյ* Ven Bod.

[7] *գրեաց յանուն իմ թուղթ* om Bod.

[8] *առ թագաւորն* add 92: om Ven Bod.

[9] + *նինուէի և ասորեստանի* 92: simil apud Canon.

[10] *արծունեաց* Canon: *արծրունեաց* ceteri male.

[11] *զթագաւորն սինէքարիմ* Ven 92.

առանց աշխատանաց դի կայցես գնա: Եւ նմանեցուցեալ էր զձեռնադիրն իւր իմոյ ձեռնադրին, և կնքեալ մատանեաւ իմով: Եւ յորժամ խնդրեցին գաւրքն[1] թագաւորին գնալ ի տունս իւրեանց, նախան միայն մնաց առաջի թագաւորին, և ասէ՝ ալքայ[2] յաւիտեան կացցես: Եւ[3] զաղու հայն զոր կերեալ եմ ի տան քո, ինձ քաւ լեցի տեսանել զչարիս առաջի քո. խիկար հայրն իմ որ ի պատիւ և ի մեծութեան քումդ էր՝ սատեայ ինձ և քեզ, և եղև ի կողմն թշնամեայ քոյ. Եւ թուղթն զոր գրեալ էր նախան իմ բանիւ և նմանեցուցեալ էր զձեռագիրն իմոյ ձեռագրին[4], և առեալ կարդայ գՀրովաբատական, զոր ինքն էր գրեալ[5], առաջի թագաւորին: Եւ իբրև լսեց թագաւորն տրամեցաւ յոյժ և ասէ. Ո՞վ ինչ մեղանք եմ արարեալ ես խիկարին՝ որ այսպէս արար ընդ իս. Եւ վաղվաղակի գրէ նախան հրամանաւ ալքային[6] այսպէս՝ թէ յորժամ ընթեռնուս զգիրս գումարեսցես զօրս քո և եկեսցես ի գաշան արձունեաց, որ աւր .իե. լինի հրոտից ամոյն. և իբրև տեսցես զիս՝ ձակատեսցիս ընդդէմ իմ. քանզի հրեշտակք փարաւոնի առ իս են եկեալ, զի տեսցեն զօրս իմ: Իբրեր զմուխան առ իս, և ինքն գնաց առ թագաւորն. եկաց առաջի թագաւորին և ասէ՝ մի տրտմիր, ով ալքայ. այլ[7] եկ երթիցուք ի գաշան արձունեաց և տեսցուք թէ այդ այդպէս իցէ. ապա զինչ հրամայես լինի. Եւ առեալ[8] սինիքարիմ զօրս իւր՝ և եկն ի գաշան

[1] զամքն երթալ ի տունս 92 et om թագ.
[2] om Ven: թ՚գ 92. [3] om ես Ven.
[4] ab և usque ad զձեռագրին del uult Bod pr m ut uid.
[5] գրեալ Ven 92: կնքեալ Bod.
[6] հրամանաւ թագաւորին Ven: Bod add թուղթ.
[7] + յաւիտեան կաց, et om եկ 92.
[8] Canon: և առեալ նախան զալքայն և գնաց ՚ի գաշան արձունեաց:

արծուենաց, և եղիա զիս զաւրովք իմովք. և ես ձակա-
տեցի ընդդէմ նորայ, որպէս հրամայեալ էր. իբրեւ եաես
ալքայն՝ ատամեցաւ յոյժ. խաւսել սկսաւ նաթան, և
ասէ՝ մի ատամիր ալքայ, այլ երթիցուք ի տուն. և ես
ածից զհայրն իմ զխիկար[1] *առաջի քո. Ասէ ալքայն*
ցնաթան՝ երթ ածես[2] *զխիկար առաջի իմ՝ պարգեւս*
մեծամեծս տամ քեզ, և ի վերայ ամենայն[3] *գործոց իմոց*
հաւատարիմ կացուցից զքեզ. եւ զամենայն գործք
ալքունենաց քեզ վճարեսցին[4] *ճարտարութիւն: Եւ ալքայն*
պարձաւ յապարանս իւր. և նաթան քեռորդին իմ եկն
առ իս և ասէ. Ահիքարիմ ալքայն առաքեաց զիս առ-
քեզ և ասէ՝ եկ առ իս և ի միասին ուրախ լինիցիմք:
Եւ յոյժամ գնացի, ասէ ցիս ալքայն. խիկար դպիր և
իմաստուն, խորհրդակից և իշխան իմ էիր, և հրամանատու
տանն ասորւոց և նինուէացւոց. և պարձեալ եղեր ի կողմ
թշնամեաց իմոց. և թուխան զոր գրեալ էր նաթան իմ[5]
բանիւ և նմանեցուցեալ էր զձեռնագիրն իւր՝ իմոյ ձեռ-
նագրին, եաս ալքայն առ իս և ասէ՝ առ և[6] *ընթերցիր:*
Եւ ես իբրև ընթերցայ, լուծաւ ահ անդամք իմ[7]*. և*
լեզու իմ որպէս մագաղաթ գալարեցաւ, և ես ափշեցայ,
և եղէ իբրև զմի յիմարելոց. խնդրէի բան իմաստութեան,
և ոչ գտանէի տալ պատասխանի. նաթան խաւսել սկսաւ
և ասէ ցիս՝ ի բաց կաց յերևսաց ալքայիս, հալածոր զատա-
ծեալ և աղճատեալ. տուր զձեռն քո յերկաթ և զտան

[1] om Ven.

[2] + *զհայր քո* 92.

[3] add *ընչից և ի* Bod.

[4] *ի ձեռս քո* Bod: *քեզ վիճարեն* Ven: *քեզ վիճարես* 92: *գործս. վճարեսցին* Canon: item supra *գործս* omnes praeter Canon.

[5] om Ven. [6] om *առ և* 92.

[7] *մարմինք անդամոց իմոց* Bod.

քո ի կոճղս. և արքայն զարձոյց զերեսս իւր յինէն և ասէ ցաբուսմաք, նայիսկին իւրոյ՝[1] թէ տար սպանանեա զանաճ խիկարդ, և հնազոյզ զդլուխ զորա, իբրև կանգուն-
fol. 7vo նս .ձ՝: Եւ ես անկայ ի վերայ երեսաց իմոց, երկիր պագի և ասեմ՝ արքայ յաւիտեան կեաց. կամեցար զես ի սպանուածն և ի բանից իմոց ոչ անասացեր: Եւ ես յանձնէ իմմէ զիտեմ որ ոչ ինչ մեղայ քեզ. և ի սիրտ իմ նենգութիւն ոչ գոյ. անմեղ եմ[2]. արդ ողորմեա ինձ և հրամայեա ինձ, զի ի զրան իմում սպանցեն զես և զմարմինս իմ տացեն ի թաղուածն: Եւ Թագաւորն հրամայեաց աբուսմաքա, զի ի զրան իմոյ[3] սպանցեն զես[4]. և իբրեւ եկի ի Թագաւորէն[5] զրեցի Թուխտա լալով առ աբեստան կինն իմ և ասեմ. Յորժամ Թուխտա ի քեզ հասանէ, դու հան ընդ առաջ իմ կուսանս.ո՜. և զգեցցին զգեստ սգոյ և գիցեն ինձ սուգ, և լացցեն զես. զի ես տեսից աչաւք իմովք զլալականս որ լան զես ի կենդանութեան իմում. և դու արասցես հաց մեծամեծ, որ տաս դահճաց իմոց և խորտիկս զեղեցիկս առ ի յուտել և ի ըմբել: Եւ աբեստան կինն իմ[6] զհրամայեալն իմ կատարեաց. Եւ ընդ առաջ իմ, և եմուծ զնոսա ի տուն. և եդ առաջի նոցա սեղան և կերակրեաց զնոսա, և ետ ըմպել զինիս հինս և անապակս. մինչև Թմրեցան և արբեցան և ի քուն մտին: Եւ ես և կինն իմ անկաք յոտս աբուսմաքայ լալով, և ասացի ցնա՝ Աբուսմաք, ընկեր իմ՝ հայեաց յերկինս և տես զաճ

[1] նայիսկն իւր 92. [2] + և անպարտ 92.
[3] իմոյ 92 : իւր ceteri.
[4] զես 92 : զնա ceteri. [5] ի մեռանէ 92.
[6] կինն իմ յայժ իմաստուն էր և արար որպէս և հրամայեցի Ven, 92. 58 addit : յայնժամ արքայն հրամայեաց ինձ գնալ յեգիպտոս, Reliqua desunt apud 58.

աչաւք քո՛, և յիշեա[1] *զաղուհացն որ ի միասին կերեալ*[2] *եմք. և յիշեա զայն որ մնատնեցին զքեզ սինաքարիմայ արքայի հաւրն*[3]*. և ես առեալ պահեցի զքեզ մինչև արքայն խնդրեաց զքեզ. և իբրև տարայ զքեզ առաջի նորա՝ պարգեւս մեծամեծս ետ ինձ: Ելդ պահեա զնս, եւ չատոյ զփոխարէն երախտեաց իմոց. և լինի քեզ պարգեւս մեծամեծս, և փոխարէն քո բարուն լինի քեզ բարի*[4]*. և՛ իմ այր մի*[5] *ի բանդի, և յոյժ նման է ինձ.* fol. 8ro *արիւնարար ի զրան իմոյ, և մահապարտ է*[6]*. և անուն նորա սենէքար*[7] *կոչի. արդ տարցես զՀանդերձս իմ ի բանդին և զզեցուցանես նմա և սպանցես զնա, և կատարես զՀրաման թագաւորին: Եւ իբրև զայս ասացի ցաբուսմաք, զԹացաւ ի վերա իմ, և արար զկամն իմ, և զոր ասացի նմա. և զհնուղքն Թմրեալք, ի քնոյ*[8] *զարթեան ի հասարակ գիշերոյն, և սպանին զսենէքար ծառայն իմ, և հեռացուցին զզլուխն նորա ի նմանէ կանգունս .ճ՛. եւ եղ Համբաւս ի քաղաքս ասորեստանեայց՝ Թէ խիկար դպիր և իմաստուն մեռաւ. Յայնժամ աբուսմաք ընկերն իմ և արեւտան կինն իմ արարին*[9] *տուն գետնափոր. երկայնուԹիւն նորա կանգունս .է՛. և բարձրուԹիւն նորա հասարակ*[10] *գլխոյ իմոյ, մերձ ի դրան սեմոյ տանն*[11]*. եւ*

[1] Canon sic: *յիշեա զսէր եղբայրուԹեան մերոյ: և մի մեղանչել արեան իմոյ. զի գիտես որ ես անպարտ եմ այլ և յիշեայ զայն որ հայրն սենեքարիմայ ետ զքեզ ի ձեռս իմ ի սպանումն.*

[2] *կերել* Ven, et saepius hac forma participii omissa vocali *ա* utitur.

[3] *արքայի հաւրն* Ven 92: *Թգ հաւրն* sic Bod.

[4] *լինի ք. փ. այ* Bod: *պարգ. մեծ.* 92 omissis ceteris.

[5] *իմ այր մի* Ven Bod: *մարդ մի* 92.

[6] om Ven. [7] *Սենէքար* Ven 92: *սինաքարիմ* Bod.

[8] *ի քնոյ* Ven 92: *ի գինոյ* cet. [9] + *ինձ* 92.

[10] *հասասար* 92, puto recte. [11] *զրանս սեմանոյ տան իմոյ* 92.

արկին զես ի նեղըս, և եղին առ իս հայ և ջուր և գնաց աբուսմաք առ թագաւորն և պատմեաց՝ եթէ խիկար սպանաւ[1]: Եւ ամբն որ լսէին զմահն իմ, կոծէին և ապաշաւէին, և ասէին՝ աւաղ քեզ գպիր, ո՞վ է որ վճարէ զգործս քո արքունեաց ճարտարութեամբ քով: Յայնժամ կոչեաց արքայն գնաթան և ասէ՝ երթ արա լալիք զսան և սուգ[2] հաւր քո: Եկն նաթան և փոխանակ լալոյն ժողովեաց զգուսանս[3], և արար ուրախութիւն մեծ. և զծառայս և զաղախնայս չարչարէր[4], տանջէր գառնապէս յոյժ[5], և յաբեստանայ կնոջէ իմմէ ոչ ամաչէր, նա և[6] կամէր պոռնկել ընդ նմա, որ սնուցեալ էր զնա: Եւ ես ի գետնափոր տանէն լսէի զլացն և զհառաչանս ողբոց[7] ծառայից իմոց, և
fol. 8vo ես այլ ի հեա[8] լայի, և ցանկայր անձն իմ սակաւ հացի և պատառ մի մսի և բաժակի. և էի կարաւտեալ ամ ընչից իմոց. Եւ ամ բնակիչք ասորեստանեայց և նինուէացւոց փախեան յինէն[9]. իբրև լուաւ զայս թագաւորն եգիպտացւոց. եթէ խիկար գպիր[10] մեռաւ, և նինուէացւոց և ամ աշխարհս ասորեստանեայց փախեան. յոյժ ուրախ եղեւ: Եւ գրեաց թուխթ փարաւոն[11] արքայն եգիպտացւոց այսպէս առ սենեքարիմ, արքայն ասորեստանեայց: Ողջոյն[12] ամէրութեանդ և թագաւորութեդ. գիտութիւն լեցի քեզ զի կամիմ շինել ապարանս[13] ընդ երկինքն և

[1] իմաստուն մեռաւ Bod ubi supr vs scr pr m սպանաւ.
[2] om և սուգ Bod.
[3] գկուսանս male Bod.
[4] չարաչար 92 melius.
[5] om յոյժ 92.
[6] նա և Ven Bod: այլ 92.
[7] զբոցն 92.
[8] om ի հեա 92.
[9] յիննէն 92: ի նմանէ Ven Bod.
[10] դպրապետ 92.
[11] sic in mg pr m Bod, in textu autem արտրց sic.
[12] + լեցի 92.
[13] ապարանս om Ven, Bod add supra vs.

ընդ երկրիս ի միջ ի կախ. տես և առաքեա առ իս[1] ճարտար այր որ շինէ. և այլ զոր ինչ հարցանիմ՝ տայ պատասխանի: Ասա թէ անիծիմ առնես[2] ես զամ և բառնամ զթագաւորութիւնդ և զերկիրդ քո աւարեցից: Իբրև լուաւ զայս թագաւորն արամեացւ յոյժ և առաքեաց ժողովեաց զնախարարան իւր, ի խրատ հարցանել՝[3] թէ զինչ առնեմք. ասեն նախարարքն՝[4] ով թագաւոր, այլ ո՞վ տայ պատասխանի այդ բանիդ, բայց եթէ նաթան որ ուսեալ է ի խիկարէ, և գիտէ գպրութիւն նորա, և անեալ է ի տան նորա. նա կարասցէ տալ նմա պատասխանի այդմ բանիդ, զոր գրեաց արքայն եգիպտացւոց: Յայնժամ արքայն կոչեաց զնաթան[5], և յայտնեաց զնորհուրդն և եա[6] ի նա զհրովարտակն, և[7] ընթերցաւ նաթան. Իբրև կարդաց զթուխտն, ի ձայն բարձր աղաղակեաց և ասէ. զայդ բանդ[8] և զքէն[9] ոչ կարեն վճարել կամ տալ պատասխանի. ես զքո՞րդ կարասցից տալ պատասխանի: Իբրև լուաւ թագաւորն յարեաւ յոսկւոյ յաթոռոյն իւրմէ և նոստաւ ի վերայ մոխրոյ. և կոծէր ձեռովքն իւրովք զերեսս իւր, fol. 9ro և ճողէր զմորուսն իւր և ասէր. Աւաղ քեզ, խիկար դպիր, և իմաստուն. ի խաւս մարդկան կորուսի զքեզ. քանզի դու վճարէիր զգործս արքունեաց մերոց. և եթէ

[1] տես—առ իս om Bod. sed add Ven Canon. postea dat Bod et Ven ՃՀմարիտ և ճարտար և իմաստուն այր 92.

[2] Canon add զկամն իմ:

[3] om հարցանել 92.

[4] Canon և նորա տարակուսեալք ասեն: այդպիսի գործոյդ խիկարն տայր պատասխանի, և այժմ նաթան որ է ի տեղի նորա.

[5] om Ven Bod. [6] + հրաման 92 et om ի նա.

[7] և Ven Bod: որ 92.

[8] Canon այդպիսի գործդ չածք ոչ կարեն առնել պատասխանի. ոչ թէ մարդիկ. Իբրև լուաւ արքայն արամեացւ յոյժ յարեաւ.

[9] զքէն Bod: զինքն 92: զքոս Ven.

ասայր ոք զքեզ ինձ՝ եւ ասայի նմա զինչ և խնդրէր յինէն, անչափ գանձ ոսկւոյ և արծաթոյ[1]: *Իբրև լուաւ զայս աբուսմաք ընկերն իմ՝ եկաց առաջի թագաւորին և ասէ. Թագաւոր, յաւիտեան կեաց. որ զհրամանս թագաւորին ոչ առնէ՝ մահապարտ է. զի այ հրամանքն և թագաւորին մի է*[2]. *դու զնիկար հրամայեցեր սպանանել, և նա դեռ կենդանի է. Ընդ այնքան խաւսեա աբուսմաք ծառայ իմ և հաւատարիմ. եթէ զնիկար կենդանի ցուցցես*[3] *ինձ՝ բեհեզս և ծիրանիս տամ*[4] *քեզ, և պարգեւս մեծամեծս պարգեւեմ*[5] *քեզ: Եւ աբուսմաք, իբրև լուաւ զայս ի թագաւորէն*[6], *իբրև սրամիտ հաւ, եկն առ իս. և եթաց զդուռն գետնափոր տանն, և եհան զիս անտի. և*[7] *էին երեսք իմ այլագունեալ և գլուխ*[8] *իմ թաղկեալ և ըղձնկունք իմ իբրև զարծուոյ ածեցեալ. Իբրև ետես զիս թագաւորն*[9], *կորացոյց զգլուխ իւր, և ամաչէր հայէր*[10] *յերեսս իմ, և հազիւ հայեցաւ յիս*[11] *ամաւթալից երեսաւք և ասէ ցիս. Ով սիրելի և պատուական եղբայր իմ խիկար, երթ ի տուն քո և դարմանեա զանձն քո աւուրս .իե՛. և ապա եկեսջիր առ իս. Եւ արարի այնպէս, եւ զարձեալ եկի առ թագաւորն և ասէ թագաւորն՝ մեղայ քեզ հայր խիկար. Ես քեզ ոչ ինչ մեղայ այլ նաթան քեռորդին քո, զոր սնուցեալ էիր. Եւ ես անկայ ի վերայ երեսաց իմոց, երկիր պագի թագաւորին և ասեմ: Որովհետև*

[1] om և արծ. 92. [2] զի—մի է om Bod.
[3] կենդանացուացես 92: loco ցուցցես dat բերցես Ven.
[4] հագուցից Bod forsan recte. [5] տամ Bod.
[6] իբրև—թագ. om 92. [7] և] քանզի 92.
[8] և գլուխ—ածեցեալ] Canon: և հեր գլխոյ իմոյ թաղկեալ էր և մաղ մուրուսիս.
[9] թագաւորն] + այսպիսի Bod. [10] հայել Ven 92.
[11] յերեսս իմ Bod.

տեսի զերեսս ալքայիպ կենդանի եմ, և ահմ չարիք ինձ
բարութիւն դարձաւ որովհետև եգիտ ծառայս քո խիկար fol. 9vo
գշնորհս. Ասէ թագաւորն՝ լուար զայս, ով պատուական
բարի խիկար, եթէ զինչ է առաքեալ եգիպտացին և
ասացեալ, քանզի բնակիչքն նինուացւոցն և ասորեստանի
փախան. Եւ ասեմ ցալքայն, արդ տուր քարոզ ի
գլան ալքունեաց քոց՝ եթէ խիկար կենդանի է, և ամե-
նեքեան որ լսիցեն՝ դարձցին ի տեղիս իւրեանց[1]. Եւ
հրամայեաց թագաւորն քարոզ կարդալ՝ եթէ խիկար
կենդանի է. Եւ ահմ բնակիչն նինուէի եւ ասորեստանի
դարձան իւրաքանչիւր ի տեղիս իւրեանց[2]. Եւ ես ասեմ
ցթագաւորն սինաքարիմ թէ վասն այդ բանիդ զոր
առաքեաց եգիպտացին՝ դու մի հոգար. ես երթայց և
տայց նմա պատասխանի, և գՀարկն ի յեգիպտոսէ ես
բերից առ քեզ. Իբրև լուաւ թագաւորն ուրախ եղև, և
ի գլուխ բազմականին բազմեցոյց[3] զաբուսմաքն. և ի
վաղիւն գրեցի առ աբեստան կինն իմ, ասացի այսպէս.
Յորժամ կարդաս զգիրս՝ դու ոլսալ տուր .բ՞. ձագս
արծուոյ[4], և բ՞ տղայս դեռահասուս, և .բ՞. կինս սնուցա-
նողս, որ սնուցանեն զմանկտին. և ասեն այսպէս՝ կաւ .
կիր . ծեփ . աղիւս. Ճարտարքս կան[5] խափան. Եւ տուր
մանել .բ՞. պարան. երկայնութիւն նորա .բ՞.ճ՞. կանդուն
և յընկուն մի[6] և հաստութիւն նորա մի[7]. և տուր հիւսան
գուգել .բ՞ արկնոց մանկանցն և տուր կերակուր արծուեացն
յամէն օր գառինս .բ. և տուր կապել զմանկտին ի վերայ
արծուոյն, և պահաս թռիչս առնել, մինչև սովորութիւն

[1] + իւրաքանչիւրոք Bod.
[2] և հրամայեաց—իւրեանց om Bod.
[3] կացոյց Bod. [4] ակղ հաւու Canon. [5] խաբ անկան Ven
[6] յընկուն մի Ven: կանկուն Bod. [7] յընհուն մի Ven.

առնուն. և այնպէս սովորութի՞ւ տուր մինչև բարձրանան .ք՛ճ'. կանկուն. Եւ արեւտանն կինն իմ յոյժ իմաստուն էր. արար զա՞մ վաղվաղակի զոր[1] ինչ ասացի. յայնժամ արքայն հրամայեաց ինձ դնալ յեգիպտոս. և իբրև հասի ի դուռն եգիպտոսի, ածի գմանկտին յարկնոցն
fol. 10ro որպէս և սովորէին. և կապեցի ի վերայ արծուոցն. թռան ի վեր և բարձրացան, և մանկտիքն աղաղակէին և ասէին՝ կաւ կիր. ծեփ աղեւս. ճարտարքս կան խափան. և ես խիկարս առի գաւազան, ի հետ մտի ուր և հանդիպէի, զան հարկանէի. փութացէք, տուք զոր խնդրեն ճարտարքն: Եկեալ[2] արքայն եգիպտացոց[3], և զարմացաւ յոյժ և ուրախ եղև, և հրամայեաց իջուցանել զմեզ, և ասէ՝ եկ հանդիր աշխատանաց նոցա[4]. կեր արբ և ուրախ լեր. և վաղիւն եկ առ իս. եւ իբրև այգ եղև, կոչեաց զիս թագաւորն և ասէ ցիս՝ զինչ է անուն քո. և ասեմ արիկամ է անուն իմ. քանզի սարուկ եմ սինաքարիմայ արքային. Եւ իբրև լուաւ թագաւորն սրամեցաւ յոյժ, և ասէ՝ ես այսպէս անարգ թուեցայ յաչս սինաքարիմայ արքային ասորեստանեայց, որ սարուկ մի առաքեաց առ իս տալ ինձ պատասխանի. Եւ ասէ ցիս՝ երթ ի տուն քո և վաղիւն եկ առ իս: Եւ իբրև վաղիւն գնացի՝ հրաման ետ արքայն զաւրացն իւրոց, զի զգեցցին քաջիւթ կարմիր. և ինքն արքայ զգեցաւ զգեստ ծիրանի: և նստաւ յաթոռն իւր, և գաւրք նորա շուրջ զնովաւ. հրամայեաց և կոչեաց զես առ ինքն և ասէ. Ընկիկամ, ո՞ւմ նմանեմ ես. կամ զաւրքն իմ ո՞ւմ նմանեն: Ասեմ նման ես դու զիւն, և նախարարք քո քրմանց նոցա. Ասէ ցիս երթ յաւթևանս քո և վաղիւն եկ առ իս. իբրև

[1] զա՞մ զոր Bod.
[2] եկեալ Ven: որ եկ Bod.
[3] om Ven.
[4] om Ven.

ակի ի տուն իմ և ակի վաղիւն առ նայ, զգեցոյց կտաւ զաւրաց իւրոց. և ինքն զգեցաւ կարմիր, և ասէ ցիս՝ ո՛ւմ նմանեմ ես, կամ զաւրքն իմ ո՛ւմ նմանեն. Եւ ասեմ նման ես՝ դու արեգական, և նախարարք[1] *քո ճառագայթից նորա: Եւ դարձեալ ասէ ցիս երթ յաւթեւանս քո և վաղիւն եկ առ իս. և իբրև վաղիւն գնացի*[2] *հրամանաց նախարարացն՝ զի զգեցցին զգեստս ներկուա-* fol. 10vo
ծոյս. և ինքն ըզգեցաւ զգեստ փետուրվածուն[3]*, և նստաւ յաթոռ իւր և ասէ՝ ո՛ւմ նմանեմ ես. Ասեմ ես, նման ես դալարոյ*[4]*, և նախարարքդ քո ծաղկանց նորա. Յայնժամ արքայն ուրախ եղև եւ ասէ. Ասա ինձ զճշմարիտն՝ Աինաքարիմ արքայն ո՛ւմ նման է. Ասեմ՝ քաւ լեզի յիշել զեզ զսինաքարիմ արքայն, քանզի նստեալ կաս. այլ յոտն կաց և ասեմ ես. Իբրև յարեաւ ասեմ՝ Աինաքարիմ արքայն նման է բէլշեմի, և նախարարքն նորա փայլատակացն*[5]*. յորժամ կամի նիւթէ անձրև*[6]*, և արկանէ*[7] *ցաւզ ի բարձունս, ելանէ թագաւորութեամբն, որոտայ և կայծակ զճառագայթս արեգական. և յորժամ կամի կարկուտ ածէ և մանրէ զփայտ գալար և չոր. և ծագէ արև և հալկանէ զբոյս դալարոյ. Ասէ արքայն, ասա ինձ զինչ է անուն քո. Ասեմ խիկար է անուն իմ. Ասէ՝ թշուառական կենդանացար. Եւ ասեմ որովհետև տեսի զերեսդ քո արքայ կամ կենդանի. Ասէ թագաւորն այս աւր աւրհնեալ եղիցի, զի խիկար կենդանի տեսի, աչաւք իմովք տեսի կենդանի. Եւ ես անկայ ի վերայ երեսաց իմոց, երկիր պագի նմա և համբուրեցի զնա. Ասէ թագաւորն՝*

[1] *զաւրք* Bod.
[2] *և—գնացի* om Ven.
[3] *փետուրուածոյս* Ven.
[4] *դաշտոյ* Ven.
[5] + *նորա* Bod.
[6] *նիւթ առնէ անձրեւաց* Bod.
[7] *Հարկանէ* Ven.

հանէ զայս խաւս[1] եթէ սիւն մի կայ, և ի վերայ այն սեանն երկոտասան մայրք, և ի վերայ նոցա անթիւ երեսունք. և ի վերայ[2] անուոցն սուրհանդակք երկու. մին սև և միւսն սպիտակ. Եւ ասեմ՝ Թագաւոր, զայդ ասուոց հորթարածնելն գիտեն. սիւն զոր ասացեր՝ տարին է, և մայրք երկոտասան ամիսքն են. անթիւքն՝ երեսուն աւուրք
fol. 11 ro ամսոցն են. սուրհանդակ .բ. մինն սեւ և միւսն սպիտակ՝ գերեկ և գիշերն է: Այս Թագաւորն զինչ է բանս այս՝ որ յեգիպտոսէ մինչև ի նինուէ .եօ. խրատս է[3] զհաւրդ լուան կուսանքն մեր զերկինքին երկվարաց ձերոց, և վրիժեցան. Ես խիկարս ելի ի նմանէ. և կալայ աքիս մի, և յանդիմանեալ տանջէի զնա: Յայնժամ պատմեցին Թագաւորին՝ եթէ խիկար զդիան մեր անարգէ և զաքիան տանջէ[4]. Կոչեաց զես Թագաւորն, և ասէ՝. խիկար, վասն էր զդիան[5] մեր անարգես և զաքիան տանջես. Եւ ասեմ՝ զի զայ ինձ շատ վնաս արար[6]. յայնժամ աքաղաղ մի ետ ինձ Թագաւորն. ձայն նորա[7] քաղցր էր և յաւ[8] ժամու զարթուցանէր[9] զես, երթալ յարքունիս: Ի գիշերիս յայսմիկ չոքաւ եւ հհատ զդլուխ աքաղաղին, և ինքն այսր. Եւ ասէ աղքային ինձ՝ այսպէս թուի, թէ որչափ ծերացար՝ բանք քո եւ խմաստութիւնդ շրջեցան[10]. Յեգիպտոսէ մինչև ի նինուէ .եօ. խրատս է. արդ մի աքիսդ ի մի գիշերի, զհաւրդ հհատ զդլուխ աքաղաղին և ինքն ասա[11]. Եւ ասեմ՝ ոչպէս խրխնձոյն[12] զոր լուան կուսանք ձեր[13] և

[1] խաւսքս և ասէ Ven. [2] add միոյ քսան Bod male.
[3] խրախս է Ven 92; ? lege խրասախ է.
[4] և զաք. տ. om Bod. [5] զդինան 92.
[6] վնասակ եղև Bod. [7] om նորա Ven Bod.
[8] om յաւ Ven. [9] զարդուն առնէր 92.
[10] ջրեցան 92. [11] այսրն Bod. [12] խրիրնջուն 92.
[13] Canon sic: զի է գերիվարքն խրխնջացին յասորիս, լուան կուսքն մեր վրիժեցան.

վըհժեցան[1]. Ասէ արքայն՝ Թող զայդ, եկ և մանեայ ինձ պարան աւազէ. Իբրև ելի ես ի նմանէ՝ ասէ Թադաւորն[2] ընդ իւրեն. Ա՞մ[3] զինչ խաւսի խիկարն՝ ասացիք, Թէ մեք գիտեմք, և լուեալ եմք զբանդ զայդ. և ես առեալ գրեցի Թուխտ այսպէս. Ի Սինաքարիմա արքայէ՝ ողջոյն առ փարաւոն արքայդ եգիպտոսացւոց. կարաւտք են[4] եղբարք եղբարց տեսանել[5], և Թագաւորք Թագաւորաց. ի ժամանակիս յայսմիկ ծախք և պարտք շատ են եղեալ[6], և արծաթի պակասեաց գանձուց մերոյ. Ընդ հրամայեալ և fol. 11 vo տուր բերել ինձ ի ձեռն հրովարտակիդ արծաթ. ՃՌ. քանքար. Ես զԹուխտն պնդեցի և մտի առ Թագաւորն և ասեմ այսմ հրովարտակիս գրեալ եմ բան, որ ոչ քաղաքիդ և ոչ Թզիդ և ոչ նախարարացդ իւրոցդ[7] չեն լսել. և ասացին ա՞մբն եԹէ մենք լուեալ եմք և գիտեմք զբանդ զայդ. բայց ես ասեմ, Թէ լուեալ էք՝ ասացէք մինչդեռ չէք բացեալ զԹուխտ. Ես ոչ կարացին ասել. և բացեալ կարդացին. Ասեմ, լուեալ էք՝ զոր գրած է տուք. Ասէ արքայն՝ Թէ զաւազէ[8] պարան ոչ մանես ինձ, զհարկն յեգիպտոսէ ոչ տանիս. Ես[9] ես մտի ի տունն մի խորխորատ, և ծակեցի զորմն տանն ուստի արևն ծագէր.

[1] վըհժեցան 92.
[2] om ասէ Թ. Ven Bod.
[3] ա՞մ] + ասէին Թէ Bod.
[4] կարեւոր են Ven.
[5] om տեսանել 92.
[6] եղեն 92.
[7] քաղաքդ և ոչ նախարարքդ Ven: քաղաքիդ և ոչ նախարարայ իւրոցդ Bod sed իւրոցդ punctis notat: Թզիդ և ոչ add 92 et om իւրոցդ.
[8] զաւազեա 92.
[9] Canon յայնժամ մտայխորհ եղէ և ի Թիկանոյ կոյս տանն ծակեցի զորմն ուստի արևն ծագէր. և յորժամ ծագեայ արևն խառնեցի փոշի ընդ աւազ և արկի ի լուսամուտն և երևեցաւ շողն որպէս մանոյք և ասեմ ա՛ր իմ արքայ հրամայեայ զի ժողովեսցեն...

և ի ծագել արեւուն՝ ցայթից ի տանն[1] կանկունս .է. և առի փոշն աւազն և արկի է ծակն և փչէի ի նա. երևեցաւ որպէս մանածք[2]. Եւ ասեմ հրաման տուր արքայ՝ զի ժողովեսցեն զպարանոգ, և ես այլ մանեցից. Խրճև եառես արքայն՝ ծիծաղեցաւ և ասէ. Ընդհնեալ ես դու առաջի դիցն. Եւ պարգեւս մեծամեծս ետ ինձ, և զհարկն յեգիպտոսէ եթող և բարով և խաղաղութեամբ[3] արձակեաց զես և զնացի. Խրճև լուաւ արքայն սինաքարիմ զգալուստն իմ, ել ընդառաջ իմ ուրախութեա՛. Խրճև ողջունեցաք զմիմեանսն, առեալ տարաւ զես յայպա՛րանս իւր, և ի գլուխ բազմականին բազմեցոյց զես. եւ արար ուրախութիւն բազում աւուրս, և պարգեւս մեծամեծս շնորհեաց ինձ. Եւ ասէ ցիս, ով հայր իմ խիկար, խնդրեայ յինէն այլ մեծամեծ պարգեւս և տայց քեզ. և ես երկիրպագի նմա և[4] ասեմ. արքայ յաւիտեան
fol. 12ro կաց[5]. զոր ինչ ինձ պարգևել կամիս՝[6] աբուսմաքայ ընկերին իմ պարգևեայ, որ տուաւ կեանս ծառայից քոց. Այլ ինձ տացես զնաթան քեռորդին իմ զոր[7] ուսուցի, զի ոչ ուսաւ զառաջինն ուսուցին բարւոք[8]. Եւ ետ արքայն զնաթան քեռորդին[9] ի ձեռս իմ, և կապեցի զնա ընդ աղիւսոյ երկաթոյ միոյ, որ էր կշռոյ .է. քանքարոյ 'ի գրան սրահին իմոյ, և յանձն արարի զնա բէլեհարայի ծառային իմոյ. Եւ հրամայեցի գան հարկանել ի թիկունս և ի փոր նորա. և ասեմ ցնա ի մտանելն իմ եւ յելանելն՝ զոր ինչ առակաւ խաւսիմ ընդ սայ եւ գրեա ի

[1] տոյն Bod 92.
[2] մանոյք Ven.
[3] խնդութեամբ Bod.
[4] երկրպագի նմա և om Bod.
[5] յաւ. կ. om Ven.
[6] add տուր Bod.
[7] զոր ուսուցի] Canon զի այլ ուսումն ուսուցից նմա.
[8] դարւոյն Ven: իմ Bod.
[9] om Ven.

թխաի և պահեա. և տայի[1] նմա հաց սակաւ և ջուր սակաւ. խօսել սկսայ և ասեմ այսպէս ։

Որդեակ որ ընդ ականջն ոչ լսէ ընդ թիկունն 1
լսեցուցանեն[2] ։

Խաւսել սկսաւ նաթան և ասէ՝ ընդէ՞ր բարկացար[3] ինձ հայր իմ. մեղայ քեզ, հայր իմ խիկար[4]. եթէ ողորմիս ինձ ծառայիս քո, և եղեց քեզ հող և[5] մխիր, և ծառայ գո՞մ աւուրս կենայց իմոց. Այս ես ասեմ ցնա ։

Որդեակ՝ յաթոռ փառաց նստուցի զքեզ. և դու 2
յաթոռոյ իմոյ կործանեցեր զիս ։

Որդեակ՝ ես բեհեզս և ծիրանիս զգեցուցի քեզ, և դու 3
հողով ապականեցեր զմարմինս իմ[6] ։

Որդեակ՝ ես բարձրացուցի զքեզ որպէս աշտարակ. 4
զի եթէ եկեսցէ առ իս թշնամին՝ ելից և ամրացայց ի քեզ. դու ինքնին գտար թշնամի տան[7] իմոյ ։

Որդեակ՝ ես նստու զքեզ ի փառս և ի պատիւս, և դու 5
մատնեցեր զիս ի ձեռս թշնամոյ և մահու ։

Որդեակ՝[8] ես ուսուցի զքեզ որպէս ձագս աղուհասու, և 6
ակն քո ի ծակ քո և մատն[9] իմ կոկեր ի բերան քո. և մատուռնք քո սրեցեր յաչս իմ[10] ։ fol. 12 vo

[1] տայի Bod.

[2] լսէ Ven : լսեցուցանեն Bod : + և ընդ լանջան լսեցուցանեն Canon.

[3] Canon : զի ոխացար ընդ քվերորդոյն քո ։ և ասեմ ցնայ՝ յաթոռ փառաց ...

[4] մեղայ—խիկար om Ven. [5] հող և om Bod.

[6] ord զմար. իմ ապ. 92.

[7] թշնամին գտար ինքնին ի տան 92.

[8] Canon melius ita : Ո. անուցի զքեզ ոսկ ձակս արծուի. և մատուռնք քո սրեալ էին ի յաչս իմ. քանզի ակն քո չար էր տեսանել զիս ։

[9] և մատն—բերան քո om Ven. [10] սրեր յաչս քո Ven.

7 Որդեակ՝ արդարութիւն իմ և անմեղութիւն իմ
վրկեաց զիս[1] և ապրեցոյց զիս. և անիրաւութի՞ք ոչ
յաջողեաց քեզ։

8 Որդեակ՝ եղեր ինձ որպէս կարիճ՝ որ եհար զասեղն,
և ասէ ասեղն՝ ահա խայթոց որ չար է քան զքոյդ.
դարձեալ եհար զթաթն ուղտուն և նա եհար զթաթն[2]
ի վերայ նորա և ճմլեաց զնա և ասէ. դերի[3], ո՞չ գիտէիր
եթէ շունչ և հոգի քո ի յոտս իմ էր։

9 Որդեակ՝ եղեր ինձ որպէս այծն՝ որ ուտէր զտորոնն.
ասէ տորոնն՝ զի՞ ուտես զիս, ո՞չ գիտես. եթէ[4] ինձ[5]
գործեն զմորթիդ քո. ասէ այծն՝. Նա ի կենդանութե՞ս
ուտեմ զքեզ. և յետ[6] սահուան իմոյ խլեն զտակ քո և
շինեն զմորթ իմ։

10 Որդեակ՝[7] եղեր ինձ որպէս այն որ ձգեաց զնետ յերկինս
և ոչ կարաց հանել ի վեր. այլ զանաւրէնութիւն իւր
շահեցաւ. զի դարձաւ նետն ի գլուխ իւր։

11 Դարձեալ[8] եղեր ինձ որպէս սերմանահատ՝ որ ցանեաց
գրիւս .ժ. և ժողովեաց գրիւս հինգ[9] և այլ[10] պակաս։

12 Որդեակ եղեր ինձ որպէս կացին՝[11] որ 'կարէր զծառն.

[1] om Ven.

[2] ուղտուն—զթաթն om Ven.

[3] Canon om գերի. Dehinc ita: ո՛չ գիտէիր չար կարիճ. թէ զօրութի՛ք քո ոտս իմ է.

[4] Canon ita Syriaco concors: թէ արմատով իմով ներկեն զմորթն քո.

[5] զինև Ven 92: այսով Bod.

[6] ի Ven: և ի 92: յետ Bod: յետոյ 69: e canonico restitui.

[7] + դարձեալ 92. [8] դարձեալ] որդեակ 92.

[9] գրիւս հինգ Ven 92: որպէս .ե. Bod.

[10] om այլ Ven.

[11] Canon: որպէս զծառն զոր կարէին. ասէ ծառն՝ եթէ ո՛չ էիր յինէն որ ի ձեռինդ է ոչ կարէիր յաղթել ինձ։

ասէ Ծառն[1]. *եթէ չինէն չէիր՝ ոչ*[2] *յաղթէիր դու*[3]. *այսպէս կարծէիր՝ եթէ զաեղն նորա ընուս. բայց եթէ լինիցի ագի խոզն իբրև կանկուն .ե.՝ զձիոյ տեղին ոչ կարէ ընուլ*[4]. *և եթէ լինի ասլ*[5] *նորա որպէս Ծիրանի՝ մարմնոյ թագաւորի ոչ կարէ նմանիլ. Ոչիլ հացի եկեր զմարմին թագաւորի, բայց ինքն ուժեք ոչ էր աւգուտ, և ոչ պիտանի. այլ անպէտ և վատ։*

Որդեակ՝ *եղեր ինձ որպէս զձագ Ծիծառան՝ որ անկաւ ի բունոյ*[6] *իւրմէ. և եգիտ զնա աքիս մի և ասէ, եթէ չինէն ի զատ էիր լեալ՝ այլ մեծ չարի*[7] *էիր դիպեալ. ասէ ձագն Ծիծառան՝ եթէ զբարիւք զոր լեձ արարեր՝ ի գլուխ քո դարձցի*[8]։ fol. 13ro 13

Որդեակ՝ *շունն՝ որ զորսն ինքն ուտէ, կերակուր գայլոց եղեցի. աչք որ ինձ*[9] *լուս ոչ տայ՝ ագռաւք Ծեծեն*[10] *զնա. ձեռք որ ինձ ոչ աւգնեն ուսովք*[11] *հատցեն զնա*[12]։ 14

Որդեակ՝ *եղեր ինձ որպէս զորոգայթ որ թաղեալ կայր*[13] *յաղբիսն. եգիտ զնա ճնճղուկ մի և ասէ զինչ ես դու*[14]. 15

[1] om *ասէ Ծ.* Ven.

[2] *ոչ յաղ. դու* Bod quem secutus sum. *ասէ չէիր ինձ յաղթել ոչ կարէիր դու* Ven 92.

[3] Canon ita **Որդեակ դու այսպ. կ. թէ տեղն խիկարայ ընուս, բայց թէ ես. ա. լինի. թ՛. կանգ.**

[4] *կարէ ընուլ* Ven 92: *ընու* Bod. Apud MS. Canon dehinc sequuntur Syriaco consona ita: **Որդեակ, ես այսպէս կարծէի՝ թէ կացցես ի տուն իմ, և ժարանգեսցես զինչս իմ. այլ բան անաւրէնոթիե՛ քումմ, ոչ յաջողեաց քեզ աճ։**

[5] *այս* Ven et om *նորա որպ։ ասր նոր* 92։ *այսրս նորա որպէս* (sic) Bod.

[6] *բնոյ* Bod 92. [7] *չարին* 92.

[8] *դարձին* 92. [9] *յիս* Bod. [10] *փորեն* Bod.

[11] *ո(ս)րաւք* Ven 92: *սուք* Bod. Corrige *ուսով.*

[12] + *որ ոչ է օգտա* 92. [13] *կայր* om Bod.

[14] om *դու* 92: 69 dat *զինչ դործես.*

և ասէ յայօթիս կամ առ աճ. ասէ ճնճղուկն՝ և այլ որ ի բևռանդ է՝ զինչ է. ասէ՝ ագռկոց հայիկ է. յարձակեցաւ ճրնճղուկն առնուլ զհացն և կալաւ զպարանոցան. ասէ. եթէ քաղցկոց հայիկն այս էր՝ աճ այնպէս լսէ աղօթիկ քոյ[1]։

16 Որդեակ՝ ասացին գայլուն, թէ բաց կաց ի գհէտ. ասէ եթէ ի բաց կենամ կուկուրանամ[2]. զի փոշին աչացս դեղ է և շահ[3]։

17 Որդեակ՝[4] եղեր ինձ որպէս գայլն որ պատահեցաւ իշուն, և ասէ՝ ողջոյն ընդ քեզ. յովանակ[5] ասէ՝ ողջոյնդ այլ ո՞ն իմոյ, որ զպարանդ յոտից իմոց արձակեայ և ետ ինձ տեսանել զերեսս քո չար և արենարբուն[6]։

18 Որդեակ՝ եղեր ինձ որպէս ուճն[7], որ ետես զընկերն իւր՝ զի դողայր. առեալ ջուր արկ ի վերայ նորա։

19 Որդեակ՝ եղեր ինձ որպէս շունն որ եմուտ ի քուրայ բրտին. յորժամ ջեռաւ՝ սկսաւ հաջել ընդդէմ բերտին։

20 Որդեակ՝ ասացին ցաքիսն՝ եթէ թող զսովորական բանն[8], և համարձակ լինի[9] բանն քեզ, յայքունիս մտանել
fol. 13 vo և ելանելն ասաց աքիսն, եթէ եղեցին աչք իմ ոսկի և թաթ իմ արծաթի՝ զսովորական բանն[10] ոչ թողից[11]։

[1] om. քոյ Ven.

[2] կուկուր. sic Canon Bod Ven: կուրանամ 92.

[3] add և շահ Bod 92: Ven om, sed apud Canon sic: աչաց շահէ և փորուս օգուտ։

[4] որդեակ usque ad արբունս om 92. [5] աւանանակ Bod.

[6] Canon Syriaco concors om չար և ար. [7] ուճն 92.

[8] զսովորական բանն Ven 92, Canon: զսովորութիւնդ Bod.

[9] համարձակ լինի բանն քեզ Ven: eadem 92 Canon sed om բանն։ համարձակեալ են ի քեզ Bod.

[10] բարս իմ Canon.

[11] Post թողից Canon haec habet Syriaco consona: Որդեակ՝ նաթան զմի բարութիւնս ջամբեցի քեզ և դու զհայ և զջուր արգելեր

Որդեակ՝ եղեր ինձ որպէս աւձն՝ որ փաթաթեցաւ ի 21
մասրենին և անկաւ ի գետն. տեսեալ զնա գայլուն. ասէ.
ահա չարն ի չարն հեծեալ է. և չար է որ վարէ զնոսա:

Որդեակ՝ եղեր ինձ որպէս խլուրդ՝ որ ելաւ ի ծակէն, և 22
այլ ընդ այլ գնաց վասն աչաց չտեսանելոյ[1]. և արձակեալ
արծիւ մի էառ զնա, և ասէր խլուրդն. եթէ ոչ էր[2]
գալիքս[3] ի վերայ իմ[4] ի յիմ տեղին էի կացեալ խաղա-
ղական կենաւք:

Որդեակ՝ զգայլոյ ձագն յուսումն տվին և ասեն՝ ասա. 23
այբ. բեն. գիմ[5]. և նա ասէր՝ այծ, բոյծ, գառն:

Որդեակ զնոզն ի բաղանիսն տարան. և նա անկեալ ի 24
մուրատան[6] թաւալէր ասելով, դուք ի ձերդ լուացէք և ես
յիմն:

Կատսել սկսաւ նաթան և ասէր. հայր իմ խիկար,
այ մեղանչեն, և նա թողու յորժամ՝ մեղայ, ասեն. հայր[7]
մեղայ քեզ[8]. թող ինձ, և ես եղեց քեզ ծառայ
յայսմհետէ մինչև յաւիտեան[9]. կրկ ասեմ ցնաթան
այսպէս[10]:

Որդեակ՝ եղեր ինձ որպէս արմաւենի՝ որ բուսեալ էր
յեզը գետոյն. յորժամ պատուղն հասանէր՝ նա ի գետն
անկանէր. եկեալ տէրն ծառոյն առ՝ի կարել զնա, և ասէ
ծառն՝ թող զես յայսմ տեղւոջս[11]. զի միւս ամի[12] բերիցէ

յինէն: Որդեակ՝ իւղիւ անուշիւ օծցի գքեզ. բեհեզս և ծիրանիս
զգուցի գքեզ. եւ գուշ գմարմին իմ ապականեցեր ի տուն խաւարի:
Որդեակ՝ անուցի գքեզ որպէս գմայր զանդրանիկ որդի: և գուշ գկեանս
իմ կորացուցեր զես:

[1] չտեսանելոյ Ven 92.
[2] էր] + գալոյ Bod.
[3] գալիկքս Ven: զգալիքս 92.
[4] իմ] + գալոյ 92.
[5] գիմ 92.
[6] մաւրատան 92: մուրան Ven.
[7] հայր Ven: արդ Bod.
[8] ասեմ Ven: քեզ Bod.
[9] Canon, սպ զմի անցաւորսյց.
[10] om Ven.
[11] այսմ ամի Canon.
[12] միւսանգամ Ven 92.

պատուս. Ասէ առն ծառայն՝ մինչև յայս աւր չեղեր ինձ պիտանի. այլ ոչ պիտանասցիս։

Որդեակ՝ աճ ապրեսցյց կես վասն անմեղութե իմոյ, և զքեզ կորոյս վասն անաւրէնութեան քո. Ասատաճ առնէ փոխարէն[1] ընդ իս և ընդ քեզ։ զի ապին շանն հաց ասյ և բերանն բիր[2]։ Ի նմին ժամու ուռեցաւ նաթան և պատառեցաւ[3]. և ես ասեմ։

fol. 14 10 Որդեակ որ բարի առնէ բարի գտանէ. և որ այլոց խորխորատ փորէ՝ ինքն անկանի ի նմա[4]. կատարի բարին ի բարի և չարն ի չար. Յայսմյայր կատարեցաւ խիկար[5]։

[1] փոխարէն Ven 92 : գատաստան Bod. [2] բիր Ven.

[3] add ամ՛ մարմին նորա Bod.

[4] ի նմա Ven 92 : ի խորխորատ Bod. Sed Canon Syriaco consonans ita : և որ փորի խ. ընկերի անձամբ իւրով ընու.

[5] 92 add գրեցաւ խիկարս և խրատք և պատմութի՛ն խիկարայ իմաստութի՛ ի թ՛վ ՉՃ կ՛է յուլիս ամսոյ ժ՛բ.

ואמר[1] לבוש. אלא ודאי לאו הכי אלא כמו שאמרנו.
ואפילו אלמלא לבוש שהיה בו אין לו לאדם שום
הנאה. ואין לו לאדם שום שמחה. ואין לו לאדם
שום שבח. ואין לו לאדם שום כבוד.

37 כי, מה כתיב ויהי כאשר הביאו אותו
חוצה ויאמר הביטה נא השמימה וספר הכוכבים
אם תוכל לספר אותם. ואמר לו כה יהיה זרעך.
אלא מה ראה אברהם לעשות כך. אלא ראה
שלא היה לו בן. ולא היה לו יורש בעולם. ולא
היה לו לאדם שום שמחה בעולם. ולא היה לו
לאדם שום שבח בעולם. ולא היה לו לאדם שום
כבוד בעולם. ולא היה לו לאדם שום הנאה בעולם.

38 כי, לזה נאמרו שבעה, שבעה לה בחיר.
שבעה[2] נביאים ואבות העולם. שבעה ימים
טובים. שבעה ימים שבין פסח לעצרת. שבעה
ימים שבין עצרת לסוכות. שבעה ימים שבין
סוכות לחנוכה.

39 ועוד כי, ויהיו בניה ויהי. ולמה כי,
כי. בזכות כי, ויהי.

כי, ויהיו בניה ויהי. ויהי ימי שנות חייה
שהיו שנות חייה. ולמה ויהי. ולא ויהיו. אלא
ראוי. ויהי כתוב:

40 ויהי כאשר שמעה רבקה את דברי עשו
בנה הבכור. ולמה כתוב ויהי. אלא ויהי כתוב.
ויהי לה. ולמה ויהי. אלא ויהי כתוב. ויהי לה
שהיה *שמחה. ויהי כתוב. ויהי לה. ויהי כתוב. f. 78a
שהיה. שהיה לה שמחה בכל העולם כולו. ויהי
ויהי. ויהי לה. ולמה ויהי. אלא ויהי כתוב.
ויהי לה שהיה לה כבוד בכל העולם כולו.

[1] Cod. שלא [2] Cod. ל

30 وقد . وكان يحيى بن معين يقول عنه ، إن ابن
إسحاق ، إذا حدث عن رجل ،

31 فقد . وقال أبو زكريا الساجي عنه ، إن ابن
إسحاق قد اضطرب

32 . وقال ابن عدي أيضاً عن يحيى بن معين ، إن

f. 77b * ابن إسحاق ليس بحجة . وقال ابن عدي أيضاً ،
وقد رأيت لابن إسحاق أشياء منكرة ،

33 . وقال أيضاً عن يحيى بن معين ، إن ابن
إسحاق ليس بحجة . وقال النسائي ، ليس

بقوي ، ولا يحتج

34 به . وقال أبو زرعة ، إن ابن إسحاق
أتى أشياء لا يتابع عليها . وقد حدث إسحاق عن
جماعة من أهل العلم بأحاديث لم يتابع عليها ،
وكان يدلس . وقال أبو حاتم ابن حبان ، كان
ابن إسحاق ممن جمع وصنف ، ولكنه

35 قد كان ، فيما يقال ، يدلس . وقال أبو عبد الله
الحاكم ، سمعت أبا بكر محمد بن إسحاق بن خزيمة
يقول : قد بلغ عني تدليس ، وإني لم
أتعمد ذلك . وإنما سمعت أكثر . وإنما
أحدث عن الشيوخ بما وجدت في كتب . وربما
كان يحدث عن الشيخ بالشيء . ولم

36 يكن قد سمعه منه ، إذا كان قد وجده في

24 ויאמר יהוה אל קין אי הבל אחיך ויאמר לא ידעתי
השמר אחי אנכי׃ 25 ויאמר מה עשית קול דמי אחיך
צעקים אלי מן האדמה׃ 26 ועתה ארור אתה מן האדמה
אשר פצתה את פיה לקחת את דמי אחיך מידך׃ 27 כי
תעבד את האדמה לא תסף תת כחה לך נע ונד תהיה
בארץ׃ 28 ויאמר קין אל יהוה גדול עונשי מנשוא׃
29 הן גרשת אתי היום מעל פני האדמה ומפניך אסתר
ויהיתי נע ונד בארץ והיה כל מצאי יהרגני׃

ולא אזכיר בשקר. כי אמרו לי מה יהוה בעבד. ולא
ידעתיו. כי אמרו [יהוה][1] עשה את הכל.
15 לכן עשבו אם *ויגע יגיע*[2]. ואם לעשם לא יעשו
לאחור לא יעצרו. ולעשם, כלעם עשבו, ולא
16 יעשו. כי אם יעשו ויעצל עשבו, לחם לבטח.
אמם לעשם לא יעצרו.
17 ושאריתו עשהו לאל לפסלו יסגוד לו ויתפלל
אליו. ויאמר הצילני כי אלי אתה. ואם לא
18 ידעו ולא יבינו כי טח מראות עיניהם, מהשכיל
לבותם. ולא ישיבו אל לבם. ולא דעת ולא
תבונה. לאמר, חציו שרפתי באש. ואף אפיתי
19 על גחליו לחם. אצלה בשר ואכל. ויתרו לתועבה
אעשה. לבול עץ אסגוד לו. ויאמר אלי פלטני
20 כי אלי אתה. רעה אפר לב הותל הטהו ולא
f. 77a יציל את נפשו *ולא יאמר הלא שקר בימיני.
21 זכר אלה יעקב וישראל כי עבדי אתה. יצרתיך
עבד לי אתה. ישראל לא תנשני.
22 מחיתי כעב פשעיך וכענן חטאתיך. שובה אלי
כי גאלתיך. רנו שמים כי עשה יהוה. הריעו
23 תחתיות הרים. פצחו רנה חורש כי גאל יהוה
ביעקב ובישראל יתפאר.

[1] Cod. om. [2] ויגע יגיע is probably corrupt.

ר ראמלרא : מיר פיכאי : מיר ראכר פיר
עפי מכר לא ניכ כלאי.

9 cf. Pap. 53, l. 11; Pap. 54, l. 16 ם פיכר לי כי, ער פיר ראך ראכר מיכ
ראיכ, כאי כלכ אי. מי ייכא ראכר מיכ
ר. מי ייכר ם אי כלאי ראכר ראכ לי.
f. 76b *ראיכאי מיכ אי. ראכיכ ניכאי כאי ראמ
ראיכאי מיכ אי.
פיכ אי ניכאי.

10 כי, כיכ לא כאי כאכאי. פיכר ראכ
ייכר. ראיכ פיר ככר פיר. מי ייכא
ר. ראיכ מי ייכר. פיר אי ראכ ראמלר. כיכ
לם כיכ. ייכר ייכ. מכר כיכ. פיר כאכאכ פיר כאם
כיכר לפר. לפר ייכר. מכר כיכ. פיר כאכאכ פיר כאם
ככר. מיכאכ מיכא. מאכיכ אם ראיכ כיכר.
כאיכר ראכר אם ר ייכר ראיכ. כיכאיכ.
ראכ כאכר אי. מי פיר אי ראכיכ ראמלר.

15 כאכאכ. ראיכ כר ייכאי ראיכ כיכ פיר כי, ער פיכאי 11
פיכיכ.

ראיכ ראככר ראכא אי כי, ער לי פיכאם 12
ראכר. ראכיכ ראיכר. כאי, כאכר אי ראכר.

20 ראיכ מי כאכר ראיכ כאכר לם כי, ער פיכאם 13
ראכיכאי אי ראמר כי פיכאי, כאי ראכאכ
ראיכ ראכ ראיכ ראיכ כיכ פיר כי, ער פיכאם 14
ראיכ ראכיכ כיכ אי. ראכיכ ראכאכ

2 Shout aloud to God our strength;
make a joyful noise to the God of Jacob.

Raise a song, sound the tambourine,
the sweet lyre with the harp.

3 Blow the trumpet at the new moon,
at the full moon, on our festival day.

4 For it is a statute for Israel,
an ordinance of the God of Jacob.

cf. Pap. 55, l. 8

He made it a decree in Joseph,
when he went out over the land of Egypt.

I hear a voice I did not know:

5 "I relieved his shoulder of the burden;
his hands were freed from the basket.

6 In distress you called, and I rescued you;
I answered you in the secret place of thunder;
I tested you at the waters of Meribah.

7 Hear, O my people, while I admonish you;
O Israel, if you would but listen to me!

8 There shall be no foreign god among you;
you shall not bow down to any alien god.

ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝ ܡܢ ܐܢܬ ܘܐܝ ܡܢ ܐܢܐ. ܐܝ ܡܢ ܐܢܬ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
ܐܝ ܡܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܢܬ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ. ܐܝ ܡܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܢܬ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܢܬ ܘܐܝ
ܡܢ ܐܢܬ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܢܬ. ܐܝ ܡܢ ܐܢܬ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢܬ
ܐܝ ܡܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܢܬ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ

وقال ابن عباس رضي الله عنهما في قوله تعالى
19 : ومن خاف من قومه جفاء أو قطيعة رحم أو
ظلما، فقد أذن له أن يقيم في غير قومه
حتى يرجع إليهم. وقال ابن عباس رضي الله
عنهما: إن الله تعالى لما أنزل على نبيه
5 محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم: إنك ميت وإنهم
f. 75b 20 ميتون*، قالوا: فما بال الموت؟ فأنزل الله
تعالى: كل نفس ذائقة الموت. ثم إن الله
تعالى أنزل عليه: وما جعلنا لبشر من قبلك
الخلد أفإن مت فهم الخالدون. ثم إن الله
تعالى قال له: إنك ميت وإنهم ميتون.
10 فلما أنزل الله تعالى عليه: إذا جاء نصر الله
والفتح، قال: نعيت إلي نفسي. وأنزل الله
تعالى: فسبح بحمد ربك واستغفره إنه كان
21 توابا. فلما نزلت هذه الآية قال: أي ربي
وكيف وقد ذهبت إلى الروم. فأنزل الله
15 تعالى: ألم نشرح لك صدرك. فلما نزلت هذه
الآية قال: أي ربي وكيف وقد ذهبت إلى
22 الروم. فأنزل الله تعالى: إن مع العسر يسرا.
فلما نزلت هذه الآية قال: أي ربي وكيف
23 وقد ذهبت إلى الروم. فأنزل الله تعالى:
إذا فرغت فانصب. فلما نزلت هذه الآية

מחרפו וגו׳ שומרי לחשיכה. אותו שהיו עובדין
שהיה קורא להן. ואומר להן בתוך
ביומם כך לחשיכה. ואומר להן בתוך
שלהם הוא אומר. אמרי לפסל אתם
אלהינו. ואומר אני אלהיכם ואתם
אומרים לי אלהינו. אמר ר׳ אבהו
משל לאחד שהיה מהלך בדרך
ופגע בו לסטים. אמר לו הפשט
בגדיך ותן לי. אמר לו אני
מפשיטם ונותנם לך. אמר לו
אלהינו. אמר ר׳ אבהו משל לאחד
שהיה מהלך בדרך ופגע בו לסטים.
אמר לו הפשט בגדיך ותן לי.
אמר לו אני מפשיטם ונותנם לך.
אמר לו

8 وقال لهم. كيف رأيتم الرجل الذي
جاء لملاقاتكم. هل كلمكم بكلام
هذا اليوم. فلم يجيبوه بكلمة. ولا
9 أحد منهم أخبر بما كلمه به. فقال
لهم. ليس الرجل الذي أرسلني إليكم
بل هو أرسل إليكم. فقولوا له هذا
10 ما قال لك. عبدك أخوك يهورام
ملك إسرائيل. وعبدك أخو أخزيا
ملك يهوذا. وعبدك أخو إيزابل
11 الملكة. وعبدك أخو أخاب الملك.
وعبدك يهورام أخو أخزيا ملك
يهوذا. وعبدك أخو أخزيا ملك
12 يهوذا. وعبدك أخو يهورام ملك
يهوذا. وعبدك أخو أخزيا ملك
يهوذا. وعبدك أخو يهورام ملك
يهوذا. وعبدك أخو أخزيا ملك
13 يهوذا. وعبدك أخو يهورام ملك
يهوذا. وعبدك أخو أخزيا ملك

ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ

16 [1]ܚܠ . . . ܐ ,ܐܝ ܫܡܝܢ ܕܡ ܐܢ ܫܒܩ. ܐܢ ܐܢ ܫܡܝܢ ܐܝ, ܐ
ܕܝܢ ,ܫܒܩ ܟܬܝܢ ܐܢܫ ,ܠܥܡ ܪܡܡ ܟܬܝܢ ,ܫܡܝܢ ,ܐܝܬܝܡ
ܐܢ ܐܝ ܟܠ ܫܠܝ ܟܠܐ ܟܝܐ. ܐܢ ـ ܐܝ ܟܠ
fol. 71a ـ ܫܒܩ ܟܠ ܢܢ. ,ܐܠܝܫܒܡ ,*ܟܠ ܫܒܩ ;ܠܥܡ ܟܠ
5 ,ܫܡܝܢ ,ܐܠܝܐܝܬܝܡ. ܐܒܥ ,ܐܠܥ ,ܐܠ ܟܠ ,ܐܠ ,ܫܒܩ ,ܐ
,ܠܥܡ. ,ܫܒܩ ,ܡܡ ,ܐ ,ܐܠ ,ܐ ,ܐܠܥ ,ܐܠ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ
17 ,ܠܥܡ. ,ܐ ,ܡ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ
,ܐ ,ܐ. ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ
18 ,ܐ ,ܐ. ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ
10 ,ܐ. ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ
19 ,ܐ ,ܐ. ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ
,ܐ. ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ
,ܐ. ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ
20 ,ܐ ,ܐ. ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ
15 ,ܐ ,ܐ. ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ
,ܐ. ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ
c. VII. 1 ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ
,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ
2 ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ
20 ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ

[1] An attempt has been made to erase this comparison, and two words are almost entirely illegible. Mrs Lewis has, by the use of a re-agent, brought up ܚܠ.

ואת כל החיה ואת כל הבהמה אשר אתו בתבה ויעבר אלהים רוח על הארץ וישכו המים׃
ותסכרנה מעינת התהום וארבת השמים ויכלא הגשם מן השמים׃ 2
וישבו המים מעל הארץ הלוך ושוב ויחסרו המים מקצת מאת ימים׃ 3
ותנח התבה בחדש השביעי בשבעה עשר יום לחדש על הרי אררט׃ 4
והמים היו הלוך וחסור עד החדש העשירי בעשירי באחד לחדש נראו ראשי ההרים׃ 5
ויהי מקץ ארבעים יום ויפתח נח את חלון התבה אשר עשה׃ 6
וישלח את העורב ויצא יצוא ושוב עד יבשת המים מעל הארץ׃ 7
וישלח את היונה מאתו לראות הקלו המים מעל פני האדמה׃ 8
ולא מצאה היונה מנוח לכף רגלה ותשב אליו אל התבה כי מים על פני כל הארץ וישלח ידו ויקחה ויבא אתה אליו אל התבה׃ 9
ויחל עוד שבעת ימים אחרים וישלח את היונה מן התבה׃ 10
ותבא אליו היונה לעת ערב והנה עלה זית טרף בפיה וידע נח כי קלו המים מעל הארץ׃ 11
ויחל עוד שבעת ימים אחרים וישלח את היונה ולא יספה שוב אליו עוד׃ 12
ויהי בשנת אחת ושש מאות שנה בראשון באחד לחדש חרבו המים מעל הארץ ויסר נח את מכסה התבה וירא והנה חרבו פני האדמה׃ 13
ובחדש השני בשבעה ועשרים יום לחדש יבשה הארץ׃ 14
וידבר אלהים אל נח לאמר׃ 15

ויצר אותך מבטן יעזרך אל אל תירא עבדי יעקב וישרון
בחרתי בו. כי אצק מים על צמא ונחלים על יבשה אצק
את רוחי על זרעך וברכתי על צאצאיך. ופרחו בין
חציר כערבים על יבלי מים. זה יאמר לי יהוה ואני
ליהוה יקרא בשם יעקב וזה יכתב ידו ליהוה ובשם
ישראל יכנה. כה אמר יהוה מלך ישראל וגאלו יהוה
צבאות אני ראשון ואני אחרון ומבלעדי אין אלהים.
ומי כמוני יקרא ויגידה ויערכה לי משומי עם עולם
ואתיות ויגידו להם את הבאות תפחדו ולא תיראו
הלא הגדתי לך מקדם והשמעתי ומעולם לא נסתרתי
ואתם עדי הישנ אלוה מבלעדי ואין צור בל ידעתי.
יוצרי אלילים כלם תהו וחמודיהם בל יועילו ועדיהם
המה בל יראו ובל יבינו למען יבשו. מי יצר אל ופסל
נסך בלתי הועיל לו. הן כל חבריו יבשו והחרשים
מאדם המה יקבצו כלם יעמדו יפחדו יבשו יחדו. חרש
ברזל מעצד ופעל במפחים ובזרעתים יצרנהו ויעשהו
בזרוע כחו גם ירעב ואין כח לא שתה מים ויעף.
חרש עץ נטה קו יתארהו במשחים יעשהו ובמחוגה
יתארהו ועשהו כתבנית איש ככל תפארת אדם לשבת
בית. כרתים יכרת לו ואלון ובלוט יאמץ לו ויבחר
בעצי היער נטע ארז וגשם יגדל. והיה לאדם למבער
ויקח מהם ויחם אף יעשה אל ויסגד פסל ויפל לו.
חציו שרף באש על חציו יאכל בשר יצלה צלי וישבע
גם יחם ויאמר האח חמותי ראיתי אש. ויתרו עשהו
לאלהות לפסלו ישתחוה ויפל אליו ויתפלל אליו ויאמר
הצילני כי אלי אתה. לא ידעו ולא יבינו כי טח מראות
מעיניהם מהשכיל לבותם. ולא ישיב אל לבו ולא דעת
ולא תבונה לאמר חציו שרפתי באש ואף אפיתי על
גחליו לחם אצלי בשר ואוכל ויתרו לתועבה עשהו
לעץ אסגוד. רעה מאכל בקרבו ולא יציל את נפשו
ולא יאמר הלא שקר בימיני. זכר אלה יעקב וישראל
כי עבדי אתה יצרתיך עבד לי אתה ישראל לא תנשני.
מחיתי כעב פשעיך וכענן חטאתיך שובה אלי כי גאלתיך.
רנו שמים כי עשה יהוה הריעו תחתיות ארץ פצחו
הרים רנה יער וכל עץ בו כי גאל יהוה יעקב ובישראל
יתפאר. כה אמר יהוה גאלך ויצרך מבטן אני יהוה
עשה כל נוטה שחקים לבדי רקע הארץ מי אתי. מפר
אתות בדים וקוסמים אחור ישיב וחכמתם יסכל. משיב
חכמים אחור ודעתם יסכל. מקים דבר עבדו ועצת
מלאכיו ישלים האמר לירושלם תושב ולערי יהודה
תבנינה והחרבותיה אקומם. האמר למצולה חרבי ויבשו
מימיך. האמר לכורש רעי וכל חפצי ישלם ולאמר
לירושלם תבנה והיכל יוסד. כה אמר יהוה למשיחו
לכורש אשר החזקתי בימינו לרד לפניו גוים ומתני
מלכים אפתח לפתח לפניו דלתים ושערים לא יסגרו.
אני לפניך אלך והרי עקבים אישר דלתות נחשת אשבר
ובריחי ברזל אגדע. ונתתי לך אוצרות חשך ומטמוני
מסתרים למען תדע כי אני יהוה הקורא בשמך אלהי
ישראל. למען עבדי יעקב ובחירי וישראל קראתיך
אכנך ולא ידעתני. אני יהוה ואין עוד מבלעדי אין
אלהים אזרך ולא ידעתני. למען ידעו ממזרח שמש
וממערבו כי אין מבדי אני יהוה ואין עוד. יוצר אור
ובורא חשך עשה שלום ובורא רע אני יהוה עשה כל
אלה. רנו שחקים ממעל ושחקים יזלו צדק תפתח
הארץ ותפרו ישע וצדקה תצמיח יחדו אני יהוה בראתיו.
הוי רב את יצרו חרש חרשי ארמה הומר ליוצרו התאמר
פעל לא עשה ידים אין לו. הוי אמר לאב מה תוליד
ולאשה מה חלת. כה אמר יהוה קדוש ישראל ויצרו
השאלוני עתידות על בני ועל פעל ידי תצוני. אנכי
עשיתי ארץ ואדם עליה בראתי אני ידי נטו שמים
וכל צבאם צויתי. אני העירתיהו בצדק וכל דרכיו
אישר הוא יבנה עירי ושבי לא בכפר ולא בשחד אמר
יהוה צבאות. כה אמר יהוה יגיע מצרים וסחר כושים
ושבאים אנשי מדה עליך יעברו ולך יהיו אחריך יעברו
באזקים ואליך ישתחוו אליך יתחננו אך בך אל ואין
עוד אפס אלהים. אכן אתה אל מסתתר אלהי ישראל
מושיע. בושו וגם נכלמו כלם יחדו הלכו בכלמה חרשי
צירים. ישראל נושע ביהוה תשועת עולמים לא תבושו
ולא תכלמו עד עולמי עד. כי כה אמר יהוה בורא
השמים הוא האלהים יוצר הארץ ועשה הוא כוננה לא
תהו בראה לשבת יצרה אני יהוה ואין עוד. לא בסתר
דברתי במקום ארץ חשך לא אמרתי לזרע יעקב תהו
בקשוני דברתי צדק מגיד מישרים. הקבצו ובואו
נגשו יחדו פליטי הגוים לא ידעו הנשאים את עץ
פסלם ומתפללים אל אל לא יושיע. הגידו והגישו אף
יועצו יחדו מי השמיע מזאת מקדם מאז הגידה הלא
אני יהוה ואין עוד אלהי צדיק ומושיע אין זולתי.
פנו אלי והושעו כל אפסי ארץ כי אני אל ואין עוד.
נשבעתי אם יצא מפי צדקה דבר ולא ישוב כי לי תכרע
כל ברך תשבע כל לשון. אך ביהוה יאמר לי צדקות
ועזו יבואו אליו ויבשו כל הנחרים בו. ביהוה יצדקו
ויתהללו כל זרע ישראל.

[1] Cod. כיבאר [2] Cod. כיבאר

ܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܒܪܝܐ ܐܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܠ
ܡ ܕܝܢܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܐܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܠ
ܫܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘ 3
ܫܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘ 5
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘ 4
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘ 10 f. 73 a
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘ 5
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘ 15 6
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘ 7
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘ 20
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘ

[1] i.e. κλωβίον [2] Cod. ܫܠܝ

ויאמר אליהם יעקב אתכלתם. ויאמר ראובן אל אביו לאמר
את שני בני תמית אם לא אביאנו אליך תנהו על ידי ואני
אשיבנו אליך. ויאמר לא ירד בני עמכם כי אחיו מת והוא
לבדו נשאר אם יקרה אתו אסון בדרך אשר תלכו שם והורדתם
את שיבתי ביגון שאולה. ויעקב אביהם מאן לשלח את בנימין
אחי יוסף כי אמר פן יקרה אתו אסון כאחיו וימת והוא לבדו
נשאר מאמו מכל הבנים אשר ילדה לו רחל. והרעב כבד בארץ
כנען. ויהי כאשר כלו לאכל את השבר אשר הביאו ממצרים
ויאמר אליהם אביהם שובו קנו לנו מעט אכל. ויען יהודה
אליו לאמר האיש העיד העד בנו לאמר לא תראו פני כי אם
אחיכם אתכם. אם יש אתה משלח את אחינו אתנו נרדה ונקנה
לך אכל. ואם אינך משלח אין אנחנו יורדים כי האיש אמר
אלינו לאמר לא תראו פני כי אם אחיכם אתכם. ויאמר ישראל
למה הרעותם אלי להגיד לאיש העוד לכם אח. ויאמרו שאל
שאל האיש לנו ולמולדתנו לאמר העוד אביכם חי היש לכם
אח ויאמר אליו. הידע נדע כי יאמר הורידו את אחיכם. ויאמר
יהודה אל ישראל אביו שלחה הנער אתי ונקומה ונלכה ונחיה
ולא נמות גם אנחנו גם אתה גם טפנו. אנכי ערבנו מידי תבקשנו
אם לא הביאתיו אליך והצגתיו לפניך וחטאתי לך כל הימים.
כי לולי התמהמהנו כי עתה שבנו זה פעמים. ויאמר אליהם
ישראל אביהם אם כן אפוא זאת עשו קחו מזמרת הארץ בכליכם
והורידו לאיש מנחה מעט צרי ומעט דבש נכאת ולט בטנים
ושקדים. וכספים משנה קחו בידכם והכסף המושב בפי אמתחתיכם
שובו בידכם אולי משגה היה. וקח את אחיכם ושובו לכו אל
האיש. ואל שדי יתן לכם רחמים לפני האיש ושלח לכם את אחיכם
אחר ואת בנימין. ואני כאשר שכלתי שכלתי. ויקחו האנשים
את המנחה הזאת ומשנה כסף לקחו בידם ואת בנימין ויקומו
וירדו מצרימה ויעמדו לפני יוסף. וירא יוסף אתם את בנימין
ויאמר לאשר על ביתו הבא את האנשים הביתה וטבח טבח והכן
כי אתי יאכלו האנשים בצהרים. ויעש האיש כאשר אמר יוסף
ויבא האיש את האנשים בית יוסף. ויראו האנשים כי הובאו
בית יוסף ויאמרו על דבר הכסף השב בתחלה באמתחתינו אנחנו
מובאים להתגלל עלינו ולהתנפל עלינו ולקחת אתנו לעבדים
ואת חמרינו. ויגשו אל האיש אשר על בית יוסף וידברו אליו
פתח הבית. ויאמרו בי אדני ירד ירדנו בתחלה לשבר אכל.

ܟܬܒ ܫܡܥ ܕܐ ܐܦܠ ܠܟ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐ

ܫܡܥ ܐܒܗ ܘܐܡ ܕܝܠܗ. ܘܐܦ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ Pap. 52, l. 10
ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ p. 158, l. 33
ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ
ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ 13
5 ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ Pap. 52, l. 12;
ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ p. 158, l. 40
ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ
ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ
ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ f. 71 b
ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ 14
10 ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ
ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ 15
ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ
ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ
15 ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ
ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ 16
ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ
ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ 17
ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ
20 ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ 18
ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ
ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ. ܐܬܐ ܕ

[illegible] ٩ [illegible]

[illegible] Pap. 51, l. 15 [illegible]

[illegible] ٥ [illegible]

[illegible] Pap. 52, l. 2 [illegible]

[illegible] Pap. 52, l. 3 ١٠ [illegible]

[illegible] Pap. 51, l. 6; see p. 156, l. 11 ١٥ [illegible]

[illegible] Pap. 51, l. 10 [illegible]

[illegible] Pap. 52, l. 6 [illegible]

[illegible] ٢٠ [illegible]

[illegible] Pap. 52, ll. 7, 8; see p. 158, l. 28 ١٢ [illegible]

ܡܓܒ ܐܢ ܕܒ ܕܥܒܕ ܟܬܒ ܕܐ ,ܟܠ ,ܗܘ ,ܐܢ ,ܡܓܒ Pap. 51
ܐܡܪ ܠܝ. ܕܒ ܐ ܐܠܗܝܡ, ܠܡܐ. ܐܡܪ ,ܐܡܪ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܗܘ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܬܪ ܐܢ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠ ܐܓ 5
ܐܠ ܐܬܪ. ܐܠܗܝܡ ܐܠܗ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠܗ
5 ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡܪ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠܗ ܠܗ ,ܐܡܪ ,ܐܡ
ܐܠܗ ܐܢ. ܐܡܪ ܐܓ ܐܬܪ ܐܬ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܐܬܪ
ܐܢ, ܐܠܗ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡܪ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠܗ ,ܐܡܪ ,ܐܢ
ܐܡܪ ,ܐܢ. ,ܐ ,ܐܠܗܝܡ, ,ܐܡܪ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠ 6
ܐܡܪ ,ܐܢ. ,ܐ ,ܐܠܗܝܡ, ,ܐܡܪ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠ
10 ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡܪ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ
ܐܠ ,ܐܡܪ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ
ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ
ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ 7
ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ
15 ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ
ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ Pap. 51, l. 6
ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ
ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ 8
ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ
20 ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ f. 71 a
ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ

[1] Cod. ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ [2] Cod. ,ܐܠ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܢ

ולמדה ויהי מלך ארם את ישראל בימים
ויעל בלעם[1] מבלעם בן בעור ויבא עד
ויבא בן בעור מארץ בני עמו למדנו
16 ל. מן ויהי ואל יהי מלך ארם
ויעמד מן לפתרוס ויעמד מן 5
ויבא מרם בן ,[2]מעכה ויעמד מן כלחו.
17 ,מה אתה בן אתה ויבא מרם מלך
ישראל אמר אליו אחאז מלך ישראל
f. 70b ,מה לא ישראל* אתה. מחמדה מיכאל 10
c. IV. 1 ל. ויהי מרם בן אחאז מלך
ויעלה אחאז מלך ישראל ויעל מרם
2 למלך אחאז ל ויהי בחדש. בשנה לו אחאז מלך
ויעמד אחאז ויעל מרם. בן אחאז מלך
ויעל מרם בן אחאז מלך ,מה. בן בעור 15
ויבא בן בעור מארץ בני עמו למדנו
3 מן ויהי ל. בן ויהי ,מה אתה ל. בן
ויעמד מן לפתרוס ויעמד מן מלך
4 ויעמד מלך בשנה בשנה מרם מלך 20

[1] Cod. בלעם [2] Cod. מעכה

10 f. 70a *ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܒܐ ܘܐܢܐ ܐܒܐ ܠܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܒܐ ܘܐܢܐ ܐܒܐ ܠܟ

11 ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܒܐ ܘܐܢܐ ܐܒܐ ܠܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܒܐ ܘܐܢܐ ܐܒܐ ܠܟ

12 ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܒܐ ܘܐܢܐ ܐܒܐ ܠܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܒܐ ܘܐܢܐ ܐܒܐ ܠܟ

13 ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܒܐ ܘܐܢܐ ܐܒܐ ܠܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܒܐ ܘܐܢܐ ܐܒܐ ܠܟ

14 ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܒܐ ܘܐܢܐ ܐܒܐ ܠܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܒܐ ܘܐܢܐ ܐܒܐ ܠܟ

15 ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܒܐ ܘܐܢܐ ܐܒܐ ܠܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܒܐ ܘܐܢܐ ܐܒܐ ܠܟ

20 ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܒܐ ܘܐܢܐ ܐܒܐ ܠܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܒܐ ܘܐܢܐ ܐܒܐ ܠܟ

[1] Cod. ܡܫܝܚܐ [2] Cod. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ

כי עשית עיר למל בירתה מבצר זרים לבלתי היות עיר לעולם לא יבנה׃
על כן יכבדוך עם עריץ גוים קריות גוים עריצים ייראוך׃
כי היית מעוז לדל מעוז לאביון בצרתו מחסה מזרם צל מחרב כי רוח עריצים כזרם קיר׃
כהמון בציה תכניע זמיר בחרב חורב כן תשפיל זמיר עריצים תחת עב צל יזמורת ענים ידכא׃
ועשה יהוה צבאות לכל העמים במשתה שמנים משתה שמרים שמנים ממחים שמרים מזוקקים׃
ובלע בהר הזה את פני הלוט הלוט על כל העמים והמסכה הנסוכה על כל הגוים׃
בלע המות לנצח ומחה אדני יהוה דמעה מעל כל פנים וחרפת עמו יסיר מעל כל הארץ כי יהוה דבר׃
ואמר ביום ההוא הנה אלהינו זה קוינו לו ויושיענו זה יהוה קוינו לו נגילה ונשמחה בישועתו׃
כי תנוח יד יהוה בהר הזה ונדוש מואב תחתיו כהדוש מתבן במי מדמנה׃
ופרש ידיו בקרבו כאשר יפרש השחה לשחות וגאות ידיו עם ערבות מלכודיו׃
ומבצר משגב חומתיך שח הפיל הגיע לארץ עד עפר׃
והיה ביום ההוא ישיר השיר הזה בארץ יהודה עיר עז לנו ישועה ישית חומות וחל׃
פתחו שערים ויבא גוי צדיק שמר אמנים׃
יצר סמוך תצר שלום שלום כי בך בטח׃
בטחו ביהוה עדי עד כי ביה יהוה צור עולמים׃
כי השח יושבי מרום קריה שגבה יפילנה יפילה עד ארץ יגיענה עד עפר׃
תדכנה רגל רגלי עני פעמי דלים׃
אורח לצדיק מישור מפלס תפלס נתיב לצדיקים׃
אף אורח משפטיך יהוה קוינוך לשמך ולזכרך תאות נפש׃
נפשי אויתיך בלילה אף רוחי בקרבי אשחרך כי כאשר משפטיך לארץ צדק למדו יושבי תבל׃
יחנן רשע בל למד צדק בארץ נכחות יעול ולא יחזה גאות יהוה׃
יהוה רמה ידך בל יחזו יחזו וייבשו קנאת עם אש צריך תאכלם׃
יהוה תשפת שלום לנו כי גם כל מעשינו פעלת לנו׃
יהוה אלהינו בעלונו זולתך שלטונו אחרים בלעדיך נזכיר שמך׃
מתים בל יחיו רפאים בל יקומו לכן פקדת ותשמידם ותאבד כל זכר למו׃
יספת לגוי יהוה יספת לגוי נכבדת רחקת כל קצות ארץ׃
יהוה בצר פקדוך צוקה לחש מוסרך׃
כהרת כמו תקרב ללדת תחיל תזעק בחבליה כן היינו מפניך יהוה׃
הרינו חלנו כמו ילדנו רוח ישועות בל נעשה ארץ ובל יפלו יושבי תבל׃
יחיו מתיך נבלתי יקומון הקיצו ורננו שוכני עפר כי טל אורות טלך ואורץ רפאים תפיל׃
לך עמי בא בחדריך וסגר דלתך בעדך חבא כמעט רגע עד יעבר זעם׃
כי הנה יהוה יצא ממקומו לפקד עון יושב הארץ עליו וגלתה הארץ על דמיה ולא תכסה עוד על הרוגיה׃
ביום ההוא יפקד יהוה בחרבו הקשה והגדולה והחזקה על לויתן נחש בריח ועל לויתן נחש עקלתון והרג את התנין אשר בים׃
ביום ההוא כרם חמר ענו לה׃
אני יהוה נצרה לרגעים אשקנה פן יפקד עליה לילה ויום אצרנה׃
חמה אין לי מי יתנני שמיר שית במלחמה אפשעה בה אצרפנה יחד׃
או יחזק במעוזי יעשה שלום לי שלום יעשה לי׃
הבאים ישרש יעקב יציץ ופרח ישראל ומלאו פני תבל תנובה׃
הכמכת מכהו אם כהרג הרוגיו נהרג אם כמספר הרגתו בו׃
בסאסאה בשלחה תריבנה הגה ברוחו הקשה ביום קדים׃
לכן בזאת יכופר עון יעקב וזה כל פרי הסר חטאתו בשומו כל אבני מזבח כגירי סיד מנופצות ולא יקומו אשרים וחמנים׃
כי עיר בצורה בדד נוה משלח ועזוב כמדבר שם ירעה עגל ושם ירבץ וכלה ענפיה׃
בקצפה בשלחה תריבנה הגה ברוחו הקשה ביום קדים׃
לכן בזאת יכופר עון יעקב וזה כל פרי הסר חטאתו בשומו כל אבני מזבח כגירי סיד מנופצות ולא יקומו אשרים וחמנים׃
כי עיר בצורה בדד נוה משלח ועזוב כמדבר שם ירעה עגל ושם ירבץ וכלה ענפיה׃

73 ... ...

74 ... ...

75 ... ...

c. III. 1 ...

cf. Pap. 50, l. 13 ...

f. 69 b ...

2 ... ...

3 ... ...

4 ...

[1] Cod. ..., where a word seems to have dropped.

[2] Cod. ... [3] Cod. ...

ארם: בדרוחיה על ארצם, בני בניהם,
לו פתח:

64 כי, לו[1] פחל אדני יעבדיו כמוהו כעוף: כלו
מו: כי, ר פרס שמיהו בני לעיר: שחם
כלבים יקל אם כלחם:

70 כי, המוני כלבים מוני אם כלחם: ברוך
שחוציו:

71 כי, ר פרס ישמיד בני לעיר: כלו
כי, כשוחה ישחיתו ר שני ר חמיו: כלו
ם, ישחיו מוכי מוכחם:

72 כי, לו[1] פחל אדני יעבדיו כמוהו כעוף: כלו
כלבים יקל אם כלחם: שחם ר פרס
ארצם בדרוחיה על: שחם לו ר שני ר חמיו:

65 כי, ר פרס בני לעיר: כלו פרוש כלו: שחם ארצם בני לו פתח: cf. Pap. 54, l. 10 b

66 כי, שמו ישחיו אחי ישחיו ישיו: כלו
מוכי ישמיו ישחיו ישחיו:

67 כי, ר לעיר כשחיו ישמיו: כי פרוש
כי ישחיו כשחיו: כשמיו ישחיו: כי ישחיו כשחיו
ישחיו:

68 כי, ישחיו ישחיו ר כשחיו: פלי ישו
ר לעיר לו פי שחיו. כשחיו פי ישחי
ישחיו:

69 כי, ישחיו ישחיו מוני אם ישחיו: כשוחה
ישחיו:

64 כי, לו פחל אדני יעבדיו כמוהו כעוף: כלו

[1] Cod. om.

53 ܐܝ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ. ܐܝ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ. Pap. 55, l. 13b

ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ: ܐܝ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ

ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ. ܐܝ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ:

54 ܐܝ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ: ܐܝ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ

ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ:

ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ:

55 ܐܝ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ. ܐܝ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ

ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ:

56 ܐܝ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ:

57 ܐܝ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ[1] ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ. ܐܝ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ

ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ:

58 ܐܝ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ. ܐܝ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ

ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ:

59 ܐܝ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ

ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ:

60 ܐܝ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ:

61 ܐܝ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ* ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ: f. 69a

ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ

ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ:

62 ܐܝ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ

ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ: cf. Pap. 53, l. 13

63 ܐܝ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ

ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ

[1] Cod. ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ

Pap. 55, l. 2

46 ܐܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ: ܐܠܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ ܓܒܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܦ

36 כי, לית קשיא מתניתא ד־שנינו אין, בזמן שהוא עומד
בתפלה:

37 כי, דא־ הוא דאמר כל המתפלל צריך שיכוין את
לבו בתפלה:

38 כי, אמר ליה מלכא מלכי המלכים הקב"ה: Pap. 55 l. 4

39 כי, כי אמרה לשניה בתי את יודעת: Pap. 54 l. 6
בתחלה בזמן שאת מתפללת אי־ את שומעת קולי
ובסוף אי־ את שומעת קולי:

40 כי, אמר ליה מלכא מלכי המלכים: אפשר
בשר ודם שמכיר את קונו. דא־ אפשר שאינו מכיר את
קונו שהוא יודע את כל מחשבות לבו:

41 כי, אז מכיר כל הבריות, דא־ אינו מכיר אלא
בזמן שהוא יודע בו שהוא מן העולם;

42 כי, אם כשהוא יושב בבית הכסא. ומניין שהבית
הכסא מקום פגיעה:

43 כי, כי אמרה אחותה לו: כל אותו הבית
הכסא[1] מלא. אמר ליה: אי־ אפשר:

44 כי, כי היתה עומדת לו מאחורי
ושומעת קולו. ומניין שאין מפסיקין בתפלה: f. 68b*

45 כי, אמר אמוראי משמיה דרבי יוחנן. כל מי Pap. 55, l. 1
שאין מפסיקין לו אין עונין אחריו אמן:

[1] Cod. הכסא

27 وقال الله. قال لا يمكن أن يكون أن
يقدر على أن يعمل شيئا:

f. 68a 28 وقال*، وقد قيل أيضا أن
يقول الله لم يكن يعلم أن يعمل
5 كذا، وقد قيل أيضا أن يقول
أن الله لم يكن يعلم أن يعمل
كذا. وقال أيضا أن يقول
أن الله لم يكن يعلم أن يعمل
كذا. وقال أيضا أن يقول
10 أن الله لم يكن يعلم أن يعمل
كذا. وقال أيضا أن يقول
أن الله لم يكن يعلم أن يعمل
كذا. وقال أيضا أن يقول
أن الله لم يكن يعلم أن يعمل
15 كذا. وقال أيضا أن يقول
أن الله لم يكن يعلم أن يعمل
كذا. وقال أيضا أن يقول
أن الله لم يكن يعلم أن يعمل
كذا. وقال أيضا أن يقول
20 أن الله لم يكن يعلم أن يعمل
كذا. وقال أيضا أن يقول
أن الله لم يكن يعلم أن يعمل
كذا. وقال أيضا أن يقول

18 ܐܝ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܡܬܐ ܕܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܬܐ.
ܘܐܦ ܗܠܝ:

19 ܐܝ ܟܝ ܫܒܩ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܡܬܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܗܘ.
ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܡܬܐ ܠܐ ܫܒܩ ܠܗ.
ܘܐܦ ܗܠܝ:

20 ܐܝ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܫܘܚܠܦܐ ܕܫܘܚܠܦ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܡܬܐ, ܐܦ
ܗܘ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ:

21 ܐܝ ܟܠ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܐܚܪܢ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܟܚ.
ܘܐܦ ܗܠܝ:

22 Pap. 53 l. 3 ܐܝ, ܐܝ ܡܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܐ ܫܒܩ ܠܗ. ܟܠ ܕܫܒܩ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܗ.
ܐܠܐ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܒܩ ܠܟ. ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܕܐܦ ܐܢܐ
ܐܫܒܩ ܠܟ ܘܐܦ ܐܢܬ ܬܫܒܘܩ ܠܝ:

23 ܐܝ, ܕܟܪ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ. ܐܠ ܠܐ ܬܟܪ.
ܐܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܟܬܒ ܠܟ. ܟܬܒ ܫܛܪܐ ܕܫܒܘܩܐ, ܘܚܬܡ:

24 ܐܝ, ܐܢ ܚܝܪ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܘܚܠܦܐ ܕܫܘܚܠܦ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܡܬܐ[1]
ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܠܐ: ܐܠܐ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܘܚܠܦܐ
ܕܫܘܚܠܦ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܡܬܐ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܗ:

25 cf. Pap. 53 l. 13 cf. Pap. 54 l. 4 ܐܝ, ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܐ ܫܒܩ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܗܘ.
ܐܠܐ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܒܩ ܠܟ ܘܐܦ ܐܢܬ ܬܫܒܘܩ ܠܝ:

26 ܐܝ, ܕܒܝܬ ܫܘܚܠܦܐ ܕܫܘܚܠܦ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܡܬܐ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ.
ܐܠܐ ܟܠ ܕܒܝܬ ܫܘܚܠܦܐ ܕܫܘܚܠܦ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܡܬܐ
ܢܗܘܐ ܠܗ:

[1] Sic Cod.: at lege ܕܫܘܚܠܦ

8b ܐܠܐ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܒܝܫ ܒܥܝܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܐܠܐ
ܒܥܝ ܠܡ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܫ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܒܝܫ ܒܥܝܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܐܠܐ
ܕܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܢܫ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܗ ܒܥܝܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܐܠܐ ܒܥܝ
ܠܡ ܐܝܟ

2 כי, יד. יד ראוה בלעם כשהוא יושב
לפי שבטיו. ורוח אלהים היתה עליו. ויש
לומר לפי שהיה רואה בנבואה שלא
כדרך שאר הנביאים. ולא עוד אלא
שהיה יודע מחשבות עמו. וכל
שכן שהיה יודע מחשבות שלו.

5 3 כי, כל ראוי. ונאמן הוא לומר
לו אלהי..

4 כי, אשר נופל לו מראה. ונראין לו מלאכי..

5 כי, לו אינו יכול לומר שלא
ראה ולא שמע. כלל יש
בדבריו לומר שראה ושמע
10 לפי שהיה יודע בעצמו שהוא
אוהב את ה׳ אלהיו..

6 כי, לו אהלי ישראל. ולמה
אמרו כאפיקים..

7 כי, לו מים ישפוך דליו וזרעו
15 יהיה, אם לא. ואחרית אחר יהיה.
יפה. ולמעלה אמר יהיה. ועתה שלא
כדרך. ואם לא, יפה יהיה.

8ª cf. Pap. 54 l. 6 כי, אל מוציאו ממצרים. שלו שהיה ממנו. ואפי׳ יהיה
יפה. ואם [1]אמר אחרים אמרו לו אלא
לא יהיה.

[1] The text here is conflate: for the MS. has אלא לו אמרו אחרים ואם אמר לו אלא לא יהיה

11 ܠ ܡܢ ܕܐܠܗ ܐܝ ܡܢ ܐܠܗ ܡܢ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܫܘܠ
ܕܐ ܕܐܠܗ ܐܝ ܕܐܠܗ. ܐܢ ܕܐܠܗ, ܐܝ ܕܐܠܗ ܐܝ ܕܐܠܗ.
12 ܐܠܗ ܠ ܐܠܗ. ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ, ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ. ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ
ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ. ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ. ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ
cf. Pap. 49, l. 4 13 ܐ [1]ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ. ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐ
Pap. 49, ll. 10, 12 ܐ, ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ. ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ, ܐܠܗ ܐ
f. 67 a ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ. ܐ* ܐܠܗ ܐ ܐܠܗ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
Pap. 49, l. 13 14 ܐ. ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
Pap. 49, l. 15 ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
1 ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܐ. ܐ [2]ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܐ. [3]ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
c. II. 1 ܐ ܐ ܐ [4]ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܐ [5]ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ.

[1] Cod. ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ [2] Cod. ܐ ܐ ܐ et sic passim.
[3] Cod. ܐ [4] Cod. ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
[5] Cod. ܐ ܐ ܐ (sic). A comparison with the Cod. S_1 suggests that some confusion existed in the archetype, which appears to have been ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ

ܟܬܒ ܡܕܡ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡ ܒܥܠ ܒܝܬܐ ܠܐ ܢܬܒ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܠܐ
ܒܥܠ ܒܝܬܐ ܠܐ ܢܬܒ ܠܗ ; ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܒܥܠ ܒܝܬܐ ܢܬܒ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܠܐ 5
ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ [1]ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡ ܐܝܟ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ[1] ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ
ܐܝܟ ܕܐ ܢܬܒ. ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܐ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ.
ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܐ ܢܬܒ ܠܗ ; ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. 5
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. 6
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ.
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ.
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. 7
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. 10
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ.
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. 8
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ.
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. 15
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ.
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. 9
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ.
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. 10
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ.
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ. 20 Pap. 50, l. 1

[1–1] These two words omitted in Cod. and added by a later hand on margin.

THE SYRIAC TEXT OF THE LEGEND OF AḤIḲAR

FROM A MS. IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

(Cod. Add. 2020 = S_2)

f. 66a Pap. 49.1

ܗܘ ܕ ܠ ܐ ܡܠ ܐ ܐ ܡ ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܡ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܡ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܡ

Caetera desunt.

l. 11. Cod. ⟨ʿ⟩ sic l. 14. ⟨ʿ⟩ḥrḥ?

2 ܒܪܐ ... ܐ̈ ,ܐ . ܡ̈ ܐܡܪ ܪܒܐ .ܡܘ
ܪܒ ܪܒܐ ܠ ܐܡܪ: ܐܡܪ ܒܪ ܒܪܐ ܪܒܐ
ܪܒܐ .ܫܡܫܐ ܒܪܐ ܪܒܐ ܠ ܐ̈ ,ܐ
ܒܪ ܪܒܐ ܒܪ ܐ̈ ,ܐ ... ܒܪ ܐ̈ ,ܐ
3 ܠ ܒܪ ܪܒ ܠ ,ܐ̈ ... ܒ̈ ,ܐ ܒ̈ ,ܐ ... ܪܒܐ 5
4 ,ܐ̈ ... ܪܒ ܠ ܒܪ ܐ̈ ,ܐ ... ܒ̈ ,ܐ :ܐܡܪ
ܠ ܪܒ ܡܢ .ܪܒ ܠ ܒܪ ܪܒ
5 ܒܪ ... ,ܐ̈ ,ܪܒ ܒ̈ ,ܐ ... ,ܒ̈ ,ܐ ... ,ܒ̈ ,ܐ
:ܐܡܪ ܠ ... ,ܐ̈ ,ܐ̈ ,ܐ̈ ,ܐ̈ .ܫܡ
6 ,ܐ̈ ,ܪܒ ,ܐ̈ ... ,ܐ̈ ,ܐ̈ ,ܐ̈ ,ܐ̈ ,ܐ̈ ,ܐ̈ 10
,ܐ̈ ,ܐ̈ ,ܐ̈ ,ܐ̈ ,ܐ̈ ,ܐ̈ ,ܐ̈ ,ܐ̈ ,ܐ̈ ,ܐ̈
Fol. 114v ,ܐ̈ ,ܐ̈ ,ܐ̈ ,ܐ̈ ,ܐ̈ ,ܐ̈ ,ܐ̈ ,ܐ̈

A FRAGMENT OF THE SYRIAC TEXT OF THE LEGEND OF AḤIḲAR

(from Mus. Britt. Add. 7200=S_1)

c. I. Fol. 114r

. . . . .] ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܚܝ ܩ[ܠܐ ܐܡܪ [ ]

ܒܪܝ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ ܐܚܝܩܪ ܕ

ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ

ܒܪ ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ

ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ

ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ

ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ

ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ

ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ

ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ

ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ

c. II. 1]ܐ. ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ ܐܚܝ ܩ[

. . .]ܐ ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ ,ܐܡܪ

ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ ,ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ ܐܚܝ ܩ[ ]ܐ

l. 1. The transcription follows the MS. line for line.

l. 2. The word ܒܪܝ is not perfectly clear.

l. 4. Cod. ܐܚܝ

l. 14. Cod. ܐܡ ܐܚܝ which appears to be a corruption of the above.

NOTE TO THE ARABIC TEXT.

I HAVE copied the story of Haiqar and Nadan at Dr Rendel Harris' request from the Karshuni MS. No. 2886 of the S. P. C. K. Collection in the Cambridge University Library. I have added a few sentences from the text published by Father A. Salhani, S.J., of Beyrouth, in his "Contes Arabes." These are enclosed in square brackets, and a few more have been added from a Karshuni manuscript in the British Museum, Add. 7209 of the Rich Collection, which are enclosed in round brackets.

In regard to Arabic grammar, I have not put in the vowel points, from motives of economy, and because they are not in the MS. The few instances of *nunation* which I have given are from that source. *Hamzas* are there entirely overlooked, but I have given a few where they seemed necessary to distinguish some words from other similar ones.

In reading Karshuni one finds that the Arabic alphabet, being more copious than the Syriac, one Syriac letter has sometimes to do duty for two Arabic ones, or even for three. The following table of values, as they exist in No. 2886, may therefore be found useful.

Syriac		Arabic
ܓ	=	غ ج
ܗ	=	ه
ܚ	=	ح
ܛ	=	ظ ط ض
ܟ	=	خ ك
ܣ	=	س
ܨ ܨ	=	ص
ܨ	=	ض

It will easily be seen that some words give room for divergence of opinion, for example خاتم or كاتم, خائب or كائب, كامل or خامل. If in these and other instances I have ventured to differ from Salhani, I trust it may be found that I am not wrong[1]. A few words and even sentences in the text of the MS. are surrounded by a thin stroke. Another reading of these is invariably given in the margin, and this I have generally adopted, as it is evidently a correction.

I have to thank my sister, Mrs Gibson, for helping me to revise the proofs.

AGNES SMITH LEWIS.

[1] The most remarkable instance of this is in Salhani's book, page 10, line 5, where for فاغتاض الملك غيضًا شديدًا I have read فاغتاظ الملك غيظًا شديدًا.

30 يا ولدي شيخوخة النسر اخير من [1]شبوبية الغراب. f. 105 b

31 يا ولدي قالوا للذئب ابعد عن الغنم ليلا يوديك غبارهم. فقال الذئب غبار الغنم نافع لعيناي.

32 يا ولدى ادخلوا الذئب للكتاب حتى يتعلم القراية فقالوا له قل الف با. قال خروف وجدى فى بطني.

33 يا ولدى وضعوا الحمار على المايدة فوقع وبدا [2]يتمرغ فى التراب. فقال ادعوه [2]يتمرغ لان طبعه ما يتغير.

34 يا ولدي قد ثبت القول الذى قال اذا ولدت ولداً ادعيه ابنك. واذا ربيت ولداً. ادعيه عبدك.

35 يا ولدي الذى يعمل الخير. خير يلقى. والذى يصنع الشر شراً يلقى. لان الرب يجازى الانسان على قدر عمله.

36 يا ولدي ايش اقول لك اكثر من هذا القول. الان الله عالم الخفاية ويعرف السرائر والضمائر. فهو يجازيك ويحكم بينى وبينك. ويكافيك بما تستحق.

فلما سمع نادان هذا الكلام من خاله حيقار. انتفخ لوقته. وبقى مثل الزق المنفوخ وورمت اعضاءه وساقيه ورجليه وجنابه وتمزق f. 106 a وانشقت بطنه وتبددت مصارينه وهلك ومات وصارت اخرته للهلاك ومضى الى جهنم. ان الذى يحفر لاخيه حفرة يقع فيها والذى ينصب فخاخ يعلق [3]فيها. هذا ما جرى ووجدنا من خبر حيقار والحمد لله دايماً امين والسلام كملت هذه السيرة بعون الله تعالى امين امين امين

[1] Cod. شبربية [2] Cod. يتمرمغ [3] Cod. فيه

23 يا ولدي انا اطعمتك ماكول جيداً. وانت خبز حاف ما اطعمتنى.

24 يا ولدي انا اسقيتك ماء السكر والشراب الجيد وانت ماء من البئر ما اسقيتنى.

25 يا ولدي انا علمتك وربيتك. وانت حفرت لى مطمورة واخفيتنى.

26 يا ولدي ربيتك احسن [1]التربية وانشيتك مثل الارز الطايل وانت احدبتنى واعكفتنى.

f. 105a 27 يا ولدي انا كان املى منك انك تبنى لى برجاً حصيناً حتى [2]استتر فيه من اعداي وانت صرت لي كالدافن فى بطن الارض لكن الرب نجانى ورحمنى من مكرك.

28 يا ولدي انا اردت لك الخير وانت جازيتنى شراً وقبيح والان اريد اقلع عينيك واجعلك ماكلاً الكلاب واقطع لسانك. وفى حد السيف اخذ راسك وجازيك عوض افعالك الشنيعة.

فلما سمع نادان من خاله حيقار هذا الكلام فقال يا خالي اصنع معى مثل معرفتك واغفر لى اثامي لان مثلى من يخطى ومثلك من يعفى. اقبلنى يا خالي الان اخدم فى بيتك [3]واسوس خيلك [4]واكنس زبل دوابك وارعى اغنامك لانّى انا الشرير وانت الصالح انا المذنب وانت المسامح.

29 فقال له حيقار يا ولدي انت مثل الشجرة [5]التى كانت على جانب الماء عديمة الثمر [6]فاراد صاحبها ان يقطعها فقالت له حولنى الى مكان اخر فان لم اثمر [7]اقطعنى. فقال لها صاحبها انتى على جانب الماء لم تثمرى كيف تثمرى وانتى فى غير مكان.

1 Cod. التربية 2 Cod. انستر 3 Cod. واسيس 4 Cod. وكنس
5 Cod. الذى 6 Cod. فراد 7 Cod. الا اتطعنى

13 يا ولدي انت صرت لى مثل الحجلة المرمية فى الشبكة فلا تقدر تخلص نفسها بل تدعى الحجل لترميهم معها فى الشبكة.

14 يا بني انت صرت لي مثل الكلب الذى برد فدخل الى بيت الفاخر ليدفى فلما دفى بدا ينبح عليهم فطردوه وضربوه ليلا يعضهم.

15 يا بني انت صرت لي مثل الخنزير الذى دخل الى الحمام مع الاكابر فلما خرج من الحمام نظر جورة [1]سيان فنزل [2]تمرغ فيها.

16 يا بني انت صرت لي مثل التيس الذى يدخل ارفاقه للذبح ولا يقدر يخلص نفسه.

17 يا ولدي الكلب الذى لم يقتات من صيده يصير ماكلاً للدبيب.

18 يا بني يد [3]التى لم تتعب وتفلح وتكون حريصة شاطرة تقتع من اباطها.

19 (يا بني عيناً لم ابصر فيها نور. الغربان ينقروها ويقلعوها.) f. 104 b

20 يا ولدي انت صرت لى مثل شجرة [3]التى قطعوا [4]فروعها فقالت لهم لو ما فى يدكم [شى] منى لما قدرتم على قطعي. B. M. f. 210 a

21 يا ولدي انت مثل القطة [3]التى قالوا لها بطلى السرقة حتى نصنع لكى قلادة من ذهب ونطعمك سكر ولوز. فقالت انا صنعة ابي وامي ما بنساها.

22 يا ولدي انت صرت مثل [5]الثعبان راكب على عوسجة وهو فى وسط النهر نظرهم ذئب وقال شر على شر والذى اشر منهم يدبرهم اثنينهم. (فقال الثعبان للذئب. انت السخل والجداء والخواريف [3]التى اكلت كل عمرك تردهم على [6]ابوانهم ووالديهم ام لا. قال الذئب لا. فقال له الثعبان ازن بعدى انت اشد مننا.) B. M. f. 210 b

[1] Syriac ܫܥܝ [2] Cod. تمرمغ [3] Cod. الذى
[4] Cod. فرعوها [5] Cod. التعبان *passim* [6] Cod. ابوايهم

9 يا ولدي انا كنت اظن انك تصير [1]وارثي عند مماتي. وانت
من حسدك وشقاوتك اردت تقتلني ولكن الرب نجاني من مكرك.
11 يا ولدي انت صرت لي اسد صاحب حمار فبقى الحمار يقدم
الاسد مدة زمان فوثب الاسد على الحمار ذات يوم واكله.
10 B. M f. 209a (يا بني صرت لي مثل فخّ كان منصوب في الزبلة فاذا عصفورٌ
واحد ووجد الفخ منصوب فقال العصفور [2]للفخ ماذا تعمل هاهنا.
قال الفخ واصلي هاهنا لله. وساله ايضاً القفشي وايش هو هذا
العود الذي انت ماسكه. قال الفخ هذه شبوقةً هي استند عليه
وقت الصلاة. قال القفشي وايش هو هذه الشي الذي في فمك.
قال الفخ هذا خبز وقوت. انا حاملة لكل الجياع والمساكين
الذين يجون يحضرون عندي. قال [3]القفشي الان اذا اتقدم واكل
f. 209b لاني جوعان. فقال له الفخ اتقدم فدنا [4]القفشي لياكل الا الفخ
قد فلت ومسك [4]القفشي في عنقه. فاجاب [3]القفشي وقال للفخ ان
كان هذا هو خبزك للجياع الله لا يقبل صدقاتك وحسناتك. وان
كان هذا هو صومك وصلاتك الله لا يقبل منك لا صومك ولا صلاتك
والله لا يكمل معك بالخير.)
12 a يا ولدي انت صرت لي مثل قملة (في) الحنطة لانها لا تصلح
لشي بل تفسد الحنطة وتنخرها.
13 b f.104a يا ولدي انت صرت مثل انسان زرع عشرة اكيال حنطة فلما
صار الحصاد فقام حصدها ورجدها ودرسها وتعب عليها غاية التعب
فصارت عشرة اكيال. فقال لها صاحبها يا ريثك لا تنبتي ولا [5]ضررتي.

[1] Cod. وريثي [2] Cod. الفخ [3] Cod. القفشين
[4] Cod. القفين في [5] Cod. ضرتي

2 يا بنى قيل بالامثال من لا يسمع من اذنيه [1]من [2]قفا رقبته يسمعوه[1].

فقال نادان لاى سبب انت غضبان علي.

فقال له حيقار لاجل انى ربيتك وعلمتك ووقرتك واكرمتك وعظمتك وربيتك باحسن التربية واجلستك موضعي حتى انك تكون [3]وارثي فى العالم فباديتنى فى القتل وردت هلاكي ولكن الرب علم انى مظلوم فخلصنى من شرك الذى نصبته لي لان الرب يجبر خواطر المنكسرة ويردع الحسودين والمستكبرين.

3 يا ولدي انت صرت لي مثل عقرب الذى اذا ضرب النحاس يثقبه.

4 يا ولدي انت مثل العزّة الذى اكلت عروق الفوه فقالت لها اليوم كلى مني واشبعى وغدا يدبغون جلدك فى عروقي. f. 103 b

5 يا ولدي انت صرت لى مثل انسان ظر رفيقه عريان. وكان زمان شتاء وبرد. فاخذ ماء بارد وسكب عليه.

6 يا ولدي انت صرت لى مثل انسان اخذ حجراً ورماها الى السماء ليرجم بها ربه. فلا صابت الحجر ولا وصلت الى العلو. بل [4]بتسبب الاثم والخطية.

7 يا ولدي انت لو وقرتنى واكرمتنى وسمعت كلامي كنت ورثتنى وملكت سلاطتي.

8 يا بني اعلم انه لو طال ذنب الكلب والخنزير عشرة اذرع لم يقدم مقام الفرس ولو كان مثل الحرير.

1–1 In margine يسمع ق ... رميه فى رجليه 2 Cod. قفا

3 Cod. وريثي 4 Cod. بتسب

تشتهى مني وتريد ولو اردت نصف ملكي ومقتناي. فقال له حيقار
تعيش يا سيدي الملك الى الابد انعم يا سيدي الملك على ابو
سميك عوضي لان كانت حياتي على يد الله ويده. فقال سنحاريب
الملك اكراماً لك يا عزيزي حيقار لاجعل منزلة ابو سميك السياف
f. 102 b اعلى من جميع خواصي ومحبيني. ثم ان الملك بدا يساله بما
جرى له مع فرعون من الاول ما وصل الى ما [1]جى من عنده
وكيف رد له جميع سواله وكيف اخذ منه [2]الاقسيم والخلع
والهدايا ففرح سنحاريب الملك فرحاً عظيم وقال لحيقار خذ ما
تشتهى من هذا [3]الجباية لانه فى قبضة يدك. فقال حيقار يعيش
الملك الى الابد انا ما اريد [4]الا سلامة سيدي الملك ودوام عزه.
انا يا سيدي ايش انا اعمل فى المال وغيره فان كنت تنعم علي
اعطيني ابن اختي نادان حتى اجازيه بما فعل معى وتوهبني
دمه وتحاللنى فيه. فقال سنحاريب الملك خذه اوهبتك اياه. فاخذ
حيقار نادان ابن اخته وربط يديه فى [5]سلسلة من حديد واخذه
الى منزله وجعل فى رجليه قيداً ثقيل وربطه ربطاً شديد وبعد
ذلك الربط القاه فى مكان مظلم بجانب الكنيف وجعل عليه
f. 103 a نبوحال حارساً وامره ان يعطيه فى كل يوم رغيف خبز وقليل
ماء وكان حيقار كلما يدخل ويخرج يعاتب ابن اخته نادان
ويقول له بحكمة

1 يا ولدي نادان عملت معك كل خيراً واحسان وانت باذيتنى.
عوضه بالقبيح والردى والقتل.

[1] Cod. اجى [2] Cod. الاكسيم [3] Cod. الجبتة
[4] Cod. الى [5] Cod. سنسلة

فى الشمسى حتى بقى الرمل يفتل مثل الحبال. وقال حيقار امر لعبيدك ان ياخذوا هذه الحبال وكلما تريد افتل لك مثلهم. فقال
f. 101 b فرعون يا حيقار لنا هاهنا حجر رحى وقد انكسرت واريد منك ان تخيطها فنظر حيقار فوجد حجر [1]اخرى. فقال لفرعون يا سيدي انا رجل غريب وليس معي الة الخياطة. ولاكن اريد منك ان تامر لاصدقاك الاساكفه ان يقدون لى من هذه الحجر مخارز حتى اخيط حجر الرحى. فضحك فرعون وكل اكابره. وقال تبارك الله تعالى الذى اوهبك هذه الذكاوة والمعرفة. فلما نظر فرعون ان حيقار قدر عليه ورد جوابه انقهر للوقت وامر ان يجمعوا له [2]الاقسيم عن ثلاث سنين ويقدموا الى حيقار وخلع عليه وعلى عسكره وغلمانه واعطاه خرجية الدرب. وقال له امضى بالسلام يا عز [3]سيدك وافتخار استاذه مثلك من يكون للسلاطين اقرى سلامى على سيدك سنحاريب الملك وقل له بما اهدينا له لان الملوك تقنع بالقليل فقام حيقار وقبل ايادى الملك فرعون وقبل الارض قدامه
f. 102 a ودعى له بالعز والدوام واستكثر بكنزه وقال له يا سيدي اريد منك ان لا يبقى من اهل بلادنا احدًا فى مصر. فقام فرعون وارسل مناديًا ينادى فى شوارع مصر ان لا يبقى احدًا من اهل اتور ونينوى فى بلاد مصر الا يمضوا مع حيقار. عند ذلك مضى حيقار وودع الملك فرعون وسار طالب ارض اتور ونينوى ومعه من الخزاين والاموال شيًا كثير. فلما بلغ الخبر الى سنحاريب الملك كان حيقار جائه خرج الى لقاه وفرح به فرحًا عظيم جدًا وعانقه وقبله وقال له اهلاً وسهلاً ومرحبًا فى اخي حيقار وعز دولتي وفخر ملكي اطلب ما

[1] Cod. اخرة [2] Cod. الاكسيم [3] Cod. سيده

f. 100 b الى منزلك [1]واسترح لاننا قد عبرنا عن بناية القصر وفى الغد تعال الى عندى فمضى حيقار الى منزله وفى الغد حضر قدام فرعون فقال فرعون يا حيقار كيف خبر حصان سيدك لانه اذا [2]صهل فى بلاد اتور ونينوى فسمعوا خيلنا صوته فطرحوا[2]. فلما سمع حيقار هذا الكلام مضى واخذ [3]سنورة وربطها وبدا يجلدها جلداً شديداً حتى سمعوا المصريين فمضوا واعلموا الملك بذلك فارسل فرعون واحضر حيقار وقال له يا حيقار لاى سبب تجلد هذا وتضرب هذا الحيوان الاخرس. فقال له حيقار يا سيدي الملك لقد فعلت معي فعلاً قبيح فاستوجبت هذا الضرب والجلد لان سيدي سنحاريب الملك كان قد اوهبنى ديك مليح وكان له صوت عظيم صحيح يعرف ساعات النهار والليل فقامت القطة فى هذه الليل فقطعت راسه واتت فلاجل هذا الفعل باديتها بهذا الضرب فقال له فرعون يا حيقار

f. 101 a اراك كلما تكبر تخرف لان بين مصر ونينوى ثمانيه وستين فرسخ فكيف مضت فى هذه الليلة وقطعت راس ديكك واتت. فقال له حيقار يا سيدي اذا كان بين مصر ونينوى هذه المقدار كيف اذا صهل حصان سيدي الملك يسمعون خيلك ويطرحون وكيف يصل حسّ الحصان الى مصر. فلما سمع فوعون ذلك علم انه رد عليه جوابه. فقال فرعون يا حيقار اريد ان تعمل لى حبلين من رمل البحر. فقال له حيقار يا سيدي الملك ارسم ان يخرجوا لى من [4]الخزانة حبل حتى اعمل مثله. ثم ان حيقار مضى الى قفا البيت وثقب ثقبين على غلظ البحر واخذ فى يده حفنة رمل من رمل البحر فلما طلعت الشمس ودخلت فى الابخاش فبدر الرمل

[1] Cod. واستريح [2] In margine [3] Cod. نسورة [4] Cod. الخازنة

واحضرها فى الغد قدام فرعون. فلما اراها تحير وقال له بحق انى مثل هذه الكلمة ما سمعتها قط من احداً. فقال له حيقار ان بقى بحق هذا عندك ديناً لسيدي الملك. فقبل فرعون ذلك وقال يا حيقار مثلك من يصلح لخدمة الملوك. تبارك الله الذى [1]كملك بالحكمة وزينك بالفلسفة والمعرفة. والان يا حيقار بقى مرادنا منك ان تبنى لنا قصر بين السماء والارض. فقال حيقار السمع والطاعة انا ابنى لك قصر كما تريد وتختار ولكن يا سيدي هيي لنا الكلس والحجارة والطين والفعالة وانا عندى معلمين بنايين يبنون لك كما تريد [2]هيا له الملك جميع ذلك ومضوا الى مكان واسع ومضى [3]اليه حيقار وغلمانه واخذ النسورة والصبيان معه ومضى الملك وجميع f. 100a اكابره واجتمعت المدينة باسرها حتى ينظرون ما يصنع حيقار. عند ذلك اخرج حيقار النسورة من الصناديق وربط الصبيان على ظهور النسورة وربط الحبال فى ارجل النسورة واطلقهم فى الجو فارتفعوا حتى بقوا بين السماء والارض وبدوا يصرخون الاولاد ويقولون هاتوا لبنة هاتوا طين حتى نبنى قصر الملك لاننا واقفين بطالين. فبهتوا الجمع وتحيروا وتعجبوا. وتعجب الملك واكابره. وبدا حيقار وغلمانه يضربوا [4]الفعلة ويصرخوا على جند الملك ويقولوا لهم قدموا للمعلمين ما يريدوا ولا تعوقوهم عن شغلهم. فقال له الملك انت مجنون من بقى يوصل لهذا [5]البعد شيأً. فقال له حيقار يا سيدي كيف [6]نبنى قصراً فى الجو ولو كان سيدي الملك هاهنا كان يبنى قصرين فى يوم واحد. فقال له فرعون امضى يا حيقار

[1] Cod. كلمك [2] Cod. فيها [3] Cod. الى
[4] Cod. الفعالة [5] Cod. العبد [6] Cod. ينبنا

لك سيدي الملك لمن يشبه واكابره لمن يشبهون فتحير فرعون من حرارة لسانه [1]وشجاعته فى رد الجواب. ثم ان فرعون قام عن كرسيه ووقف نصب حيقار وقال له قل لى الان حتى ابصر سيدك لمن يشبه واكابره لمن يشبهون. فقال له حيقار سيدي اله السماء واكابره للبروق والرعد فان اراد هبت الرياح ونزل المطر. وامر الرعد فابرق وامطر وياخذ الشمس فلا يعطى ضوءها والقمر والكواكب لم يسيرون ويامر العواصف فتهب وتنزل المطر ويخبط نيسان وينتثر زهوره
f. 99a وبيوته. فلما سمع فوعون هذا الكلام حار حيرةً عظيمة واغتاظ غيظاً شديد وقال له يا رجل قل لى الصحيح وعرفنى من انت حقاً. فقال له بالحقيقة انا حيقار الكاتب. اكبر خواص سنحاريب الملك وانا وزيره ومدبر دولته وخاتم سره. فقال له صدقت فى هذا القول ولكن نحن سمعنا ان حيقار قد قتله الملك سنحاريب واراك انت طيب بالحياة. فقال له حيقار نعم كان ذلك ولكن الحمد لله عالم الخفايا [2]لان سيدي الملك امر بقتلي واعتقد على كلام المفسودين ولكن الرب نجاني فالطوبى لمن اتكل عليه. فقال فرعون الى حيقار امضى وفى الغد تكون هاهنا وقل لى كلمة ما سمعتها قط من اكابري ولا من اهل دولتي وبلدي. فمضى حيقار الى منزله وكتب رسالة يقول فيها هكذا من سنحاريب ملك اتور ونينوى الى فرعون ملك مصر سلام عليك يا اخي والذى نعلم به ان الاخ يحتاج الى اخوه. والملوك الى بعضهم بعض والرجاء منك ان
f. 99b نقرضنى تسعماية قنطار ذهب لانى احتجت الى علوفة بعض العساكر حتى انفق عليهم وبعد قليل ارسل لك اياها. ثم انه طوى الرسالة

[1] Cod. وسجاعتة [2] Cod. لا

اتى حيقار الى [1]حضرة فرعون فسجد ووقف قدام الملك وكان فرعون قد لبس احمر ملون واكابره قد لبسوا ابيض. فقال له فرعون يا ابيقام لمن اشبه انا واكابر دولتي لمن يشبهوا فقال له ابيقام يا سيدي انت تشبه للشمس وخدامك يشبهون للشعاع فقال له فرعون امضى الى منزلك وفى الغد [2]تعال الى هاهنا. ثم ان فرعون f. 98a اوصى دولته انهم يلبسوا ابيض صافى ولبس فرعون مثلهم وجلس على كرسيه وامر [3]باحضار ابيقام. فدخل وجلس امامه. فقال له فرعون يا ابيقام لمن اشبه انا واكابري لمن يشبهون. فقال له ابيقام يا سيدي انت تشبه للقمر واكابرك يشبهون للكواكب والنجم. فقال له فرعون امضى وفى الغد تكون هاهنا. ثم امر فرعون لغلمانه ان يلبسوا ثياب ملونة مختلفة [4]الالوان ولبس فرعون ثوب [5]مخمل احمر وجلس على كرسيه وامر [3]باحضار ابيقام. فدخل اليه وسجد امامه. فقال يا ابيقام انا لمن اشبه وجنودي لمن يشبهون فقال يا سيدي انت تشبه شهر نيسان وجنودك يشبهون الى زهوره. فلما سمع فرعون فرح فرحاً عظيم وقال يا ابيقام اول مرة شبهتنى لبيل الصنم واكابري لخدامه. وثانى مرة شبهتنى للشمش واكابري لشعاع الشمس وثالث مرة شبهتنى للقمر واكابري للكواكب f. 98b والنجم ورابع مرة شبهتنى لشهر نيسان واكابري لزهوره ولكن يا ابيقام [6]قل لى سيدك سنحاريب الملك لمن يشبه واكابره لمن يشبهون. فصرخ حيقار بصوت عظيم وقال حاشا لى ان اذكر سيدي الملك وانت جالس على كرسيك بل [7]قم على رجليك حتى اقول

[1] Cod. يحضرة [2] Cod. تعا [3] Cod. باحضور [4] Cod. الاوان
[5] Vel. مكمل [6] Cod. قول *passim* [7] Cod. قوم *passim*

f. 97a وانك ارسلت تطلب من سيدي الملك رجلاً يبنى لك قصر بين السماء والارض. فانا بعون الله تعالى وبهمتك الشريفة وبدولة سيدي الملك ابنى لك كما تشتهى ولكن يا سيدي الملك على الذى قريت به عن [1]قسيم مصر ثلاث سنين الان قرار الملك ديناً ثابتًا فان غلبت [2]وما قدرت يدي على[2] جوابك فيرسل لك سيدي الملك [3]اقسيم الذى ذكرت وان اجبتك فى سوالك يبقى عندك مهما ذكرت ابعث لسيدي الملك. فلما سمع فرعون هذا الكلام تعجب وتحير من انطلاق لسانه وحلاوة كلامه. فقال له الملك فرعون يا رجل ما اسمك فقال له عبدك ابيقام وانا نملة من نمل سنحاريب الملك. فقال له فرعون ما كان عند سيدك ارفع شان منك حتى يرسل لي نملة تجاوبنى وتتكلم معى. فقال له حيقار يا سيدي الملك [4]ارجو الى الله تعالى انى اتمم ما فى خاطرك لان الله مع الضعيف حتى يستعجب القوى. عند ذلك امر فرعون ان يهيوا لابيقام منزلاً ويجعلوا له العلوفة والاكل والشرب وجميع

f. 97b ما يحتاج اليه. فلما تم بعد ثلاثة ايام لبس فرعون الارجوان الاحمر وجلس على كرسيه وكل وزراه [5]واكابر دولته واقفين مكتفين اليدين جاملين الرجلين محنيين الروس فارسل فرعون واحضر ابيقام اليه فلما حضر الى عنده سجد امامه وقبل الارض بين يديه فقال له الملك فرعون يا ابيقام لمن اشبه انا واكابر دولتي لمن يشبهون. فقال له حيقار يا سيدي الملك انت تشبه لبيل الصنم. والاكابر يشبهون لخدامه. قال له امضى. وفى الغد تعال الى هاهنا. فمضى حيقار كما امره الملك فرعون. وفى الغد

[1] Cod. كسيم [2–2] Cod. وقدرت يدى عن [3] Cod. اكسيم
[4] Cod. ارجع [5] Cod. واكبر

وتعلموا. وكان [1]يرفعان على طول الشريط حتى يصلوا الى الفضاء والاولاد على ظهورهم. ثم انه يسحبهم اليه. فلما راى حيقار ان قد تمت ارادته علم الاولاد انهم اذا ارتفعوا الى الفضاء يصيحون ويقولون قدموا لنا طين وحجر حتى نبنى قصر للملك فرعون. لاننا بطالين وما زال حيقار يطبعهم ويدرسهم حتى انهم [2]بقوا على غاية ما يكون فتركهم ومضى الى الملك وقال له يا سيدى قد تم العمل كما تريد [3]فقم معي [4]لاريك العجب فنهض الملك
f. 96b وجلس مع حيقار ومضى الى مكان واسع وارسل واحضر النسورة والصبيان وربطهم واطلقهم الى الجو على طول الحبال وبدوا يصرخوا كما علمهم حيقار ثم انه جذبهم اليه ووضعوا فى مكانهم فتعجب الملك ومن معه عجبًا عظيم وقبل حيقار بين عينيه وقال له الملك امضى بالسلام يا عزيزي وفخر دولتى الى مصر ورد مسائل فرعون واغلبه بقوة الله تعالى. ثم ان ودعه واخذ عسكره وجنده واخذ معه الصبيان والنسورة ومضى قاصد ديار مصر فلما وصل توجه الى بلاد الملك فلما علموا اهل مصر ان سنحاريب قد ارسل من خواصه رجلًا حتى يتكلم مع فرعون ويرد مسائله بلغوا الخبر الى فرعون الملك فارسل جماعة من خواصه ليحضروه الى بين يديه. فاتى ودخل الى قدام فرعون وسجد له كما يليق للملوك وقال له يا سيدي الملك سنحاريب الملك يهديك جزيل السلام والعز [5]والكرامة وقد ارسلنى انا واحد من عبيده حتى ارد لك سوالك واقضى كل ما تريد

[1] Cod. يرفعوان [2] Cod. بقيوا [3] Cod. فقوم
[4] Cod. لاوريك [5] Cod. والكرام

كما امره الملك واخذ الراحة اربعين يوم ثم انه لبس افخر ملبوسه وركب واتى الى عند الملك وعبيده خلفه وقدامه فرحين مسرورين. واما نادان ابن اخته لما نظر الذى جرى اخذه الرعب والفزع وبقى حاير لا يدرى ما يصنع. فلما نظر دخل حيقار الى الملك
f. 95b سلم عليه فرد عليه السلام واجلسه بجانبه وقال له يا عزيزي حيقار انظر الى هذه الرسالة الذى ارسلها الينا ملك مصر بعد ان سمع بقتلك. وقد قهرونا وغلبونا وهربوا اكثر من اهل البلاد الى مصر. من خوف [1]الاقسيم [2]التى بعث ملك مصر يطلبه منا فاخذ حيقار رسالة وقراها وفهم بجميع ما فيها. ثم انه قال للملك لا تغتاظ يا سيدي انا امضى الى مصر وارد الجواب الى فرعون واشرح له هذه الرسالة واجيب منه [3]القسيم وارد كل الذين هربوا. واخزى [4]اعدايك بعون الله تعالى بسعادة دولتك. فلما سمع الملك هذا الكلام من حيقار فرح فرحًا عظيم وانشرح خاطره. وانعم عليه. فقال حيقار للملك امهلنى اربعين يوم اتفكر فى هذه المسالة وادبرها فاذن له الملك بذلك فمضى حيقار الى منزله وامر الصيادين ان يصطادوا له فرخين نسورة فاصطادوا له وجابوهم اليه. وامر
f. 96a الذين يفتلون الحبال ان يفتلون له شريطين من قطن طول كل واحد الفين ذراع واحضر النجارين وامرهم ان يصنعوا صندوقين كبار ففعلوا ذلك. ثم انه اخذ صبيان صغار اثنين وبقى كل يوم يذبح خاروفين ويطعم النسور والصبيان ويركب الاولاد على [5]ظهور النسورة ويربطهم رباط ماكن ويربط الشرط فى رجلين النسورة ويطلقهم الى قوق قليل قليل كل يوم قدر عشرة اذرع حتى تطبعوا

1 Cod. الاكسيم 2 Cod. الى 3 Cod. الكسيم 4 Cod. عدايك 5 Cod. دهور

من الفرح. وامر [1]باحضاره وقال للسياف يا عبداً صالح ان كان
كلامك صدق اريد اغنيك. وارفع منزلتك عن كل اصحابك فمضى f. 94b
السياف وهو فرحان حتى وصل الى بيت حيقار. وفتح باب
المطمورة ونزل فوجد حيقار وهو جالس يحمد الله ويشكره. فصاح
له وقال يا حيقار قد اتى لك الفرح افرح وسر وابتهج. فقال له
حيقار ما هو الخبر يا ابو سميك فاحكى له بجميع ما من فرعون
من اول الى التالى. ثم انه اخذه ومضى الى الملك فلما ابصره
الملك فراه فى حال العدم وقد طال شعره شبه الوحوش [2]واظافيره
كاظافير النسر وجسده قد توسخ من التراب ولون وجهه تغير وبلى
وبقى مثل الرماد. فلما نظره الملك حزن عليه وقام لوقته وعانقه
وقبله وبكى عليه وقال الحمد لله الذى ردك علي ثم انه اخذ
فى خاطره وسلاه. وخلع على السياف وانعم عليه واوهبه مالاً
جزيل واخذ على راحة حيقار. فقال حيقار للملك يعيش سيدي
الملك الى الابد هذه افعال اولاد الدنيا انا [3]ربيت لى نخلة حتى f. 95a
اتكى عليها فمالت وارمتنى. لكن يا سيدى بعد ان حضرت امامك
فلا [4]يحمك حمر. فقال له الملك تبارك الله الذى رحمك وعرف
انك مظلوم وخلصك ونجاك من القتل. ولكن امضى الى الحمام
وحلق راسك وقص اظافيرك وغير ثيابك وتنعم مدّة اربعين يوم
حتى تطيب نفسك وينصلح حالك ويرد اليك لون وجهك. ثم ان
الملك خلع على حيقار خلعة ثمينة. فشكر الله حيقار وسجد
للملك وانصرف الى منزله فرحان مسرور يسبح الله تعالى ففرحوا
به اهل بيته [5]واحباه وكل من سمع به انه بالحياة فرح. ففعل

Cod. [1] باحضوره [2] واظابيره [3] رايت [4] يحملك [5] وحباه

فلما سمع الملك كلام نادان حزن حزنًا شديد عظيم ونزل عن كرسيه وجلس على الرماد وبدى يبكى وينوح على حيقار ويقول يا اسفي يا حيقار يا عارف السرائر والمسائل ويلي عليك يا حيقار يا معلم بلدي ومدبر ملكي اين اجد مثلك يا حيقار يا معلم بلدي واين ادور عليك. ويلى عليك كيف اهلكتك. وسمعت من كلام صبى احمق جاهل بلا معرفة ولا دين ولا مروة اه ثم اه علي من كان وهبك لى فرد هرّة او كان يبشرنى ان حيقار حيًا فكنت اعطيه نصف ملكي. من اين لى ذلك اه يا حيقار على من كان نظرك فرد مرّة واحدة حتى كنت اشبع من روياك[1] والتذذ منك. اه يا اسفي عليك طول الزمان. يا حيقار كيف قتلتك ولم امهل
f. 94a عليك حتى كنت انظر عاقبة الامر. وبقى الملك يبكى الليل والنهار. فلما راى السياف غيظ الملك وحزنه على حيقار رق قلبه على الملك وتقدم امامه وقال له يا سيدى امر الى غلمانك ان يقطعوا راسي فقال له الملك ويلك يا ابو سميك ما ذنبك. فقال له السياف يا مولاى كل عبداً يخالف كلام مولاه[2] يُقتل وانا قد خالفت امرك. فقال له الملك ويلك يا ابو سميك بماذا خالفت امري فقال له السياف يا سيدي انت امرتنى ان اقتل حيقار فعلمت انك تندم عليه. وانه مظلوم وانا اخفيته فى مكان. وقتلت واحد من عبيده فهو الان فى الجب طيب فان امرتنى فانا اتيك به. فقال له الملك ويلك يا ابو سميك انت[3] تهزا بي وانا سيدك. فقال له السياف لا وحياة راسك يا سيدى بل حيقار طيب بالحياة. فلما سمع الملك ذلك الكلام تحقق الامر وطار عقله وكان يغمى عليه

[1] Cod. ويلتذذ [2] B. M. ms. الصلب [3] Cod. تهزوا

ويتضرع الى الله تعالى. وكل مدة من الزمان ياتى السياف الى عند حيقار وهو فى وسط المطمورة. ياتى حيقار ويصليه. وياخذ فى خاطره ويدعى له بالخلاص. فلما شاع الخبر الى سائر الاقطار ان حيقار الحكيم قد قُتل فحزنت الملوك جميعها وشتموا بالملك سنحاريب وتاسفوا على حيقار فكاك [1]المسائل فلما تحقق ملك مصر بان حيقار قد قُتل. فقام للوقت وكتب رسالة الى سنحاريب
f. 93 a الملك. يذكر فيها هذا السلام والتام والعز والاكرام نخص به حضرة اخي وعزيزي سنحاريب الملك. وانى قد اشتهيت ابنى لى قصر بين السماء والارض واريد منك ترسل لى من عندك رجل حكيم ماهر حتى يبنى لى اياها. ويرد لى جميع سوالي ويكون عندى [2]اقسيم اتورة وخراجها ثلاثة سنين. ثم انه ختم الرسالة [وارسلها] الى سنحاريب اخذها وقراها واعطاها الى وزراه واكابر دولته. فتحيروا وبهتوا واغتاظ غيظاً عظيم وبقى متحير كيف يعمل ثم انه جمع المشايخ والعلما والحكما والفلاسفة والعرافين والمنجمين. وجميع من فى بلاده [3]وقراوا الرسالة عليهم وقال لهم من فيكم يمضى الى فرعون ملك مصر ويرد له جوابه. فقالوا له يا سيدنا الملك اعلم ان ليس احداً كان يعرف هذه المسالة سوى حيقار وزيرك وكاتبك. واما نحن ليس لنا حيلة فى ذلك الا ان يكون
f. 93 b نادان ابن اخته وكان قد علمه جميع حكمته. وعلمه ومعرفته فادعيه اليك لعل انه يحل هذه العقدة العسرة. عند ذلك دعى الملك الى نادان وقال له انظر هذه الرسالة وافهم ما فيها. فلما قراها نادان قال يا سيدي من يقدر يبنى قصر بين السماء والارض.

[1] Cod. المشائل [2] Cod. اكسيم [3] Cod. وتروا

لى سرداباً فى جنة بيتي ولا يعلم به احداً فاخفينى فيه بعلم زوجتي
وان لى فى السجن عبداً مستوجب القتل. اخرجه والبسه ثيابي
وامر للغلمان وهم [1]سكارى يقتلوه وما يعرفوا لمن يقتلوا وابعد راسه
عن جثته ماية ذراع واعطى جسده لعبيدي يدفنوه. فتكون ذخرت
عندى ذخيرة عظيمة. فعند ذلك ففعل السياف كما امره حيقار ومضى
f. 92a الى الملك وقال له يعيش راسك الى الابد. ثم ان امراة حيقار
كانت تحدر له الى المطمورة فى كل جمعة ما [2]يكفيه ولا يعلم
به احداً غيرها. فشاع الخبر وذاع وانتشر فى كل موضع ان حيقار
الحكيم قد قُتل ومات وناحوا عليه اهل تلك المدينة جميعها
[3]فبكوا وقالوا يا حيف عليك يا حيقار وعلى علمك وادبك يا [4]اسفي
عليك وعلى معرفتك اين بقى يوجد مثلك واين يصير فهيم عارف
مدبر يشبهك. حتى يقوم موضعك. فاما الملك فانه ندم على حيقار.
ولا ينفعه الندم. فدعى نادان وقال له امضى وخذ معك احباوك
واعمل مناحة وبكاء لخالك حيقار ونوح عليه كجارى العادة. اكراماً
لخاطره. فلما مضى نادان الاحمق الجاهل القاسي القلب الى بيت
خاله. لم يبكى ولم يحزن ولا ناح بل جمع له اناس قاسيين
f. 92b زناة وبدا فى الاكل والشرب وبدا نادان يمسك [5]الجوارى والعبيد
الذى لحيقار ويشدهم ويعذبهم ويضربهم ضرباً موجع. وما يستحى
من امرءة خاله [6]التى ربته مثل ولدها. بل طلب ان يقع معه فى
الخطية. واما حيقار كان ملقى فى المطمورة وهو يسمع بكاء عبيده
واجواره ويحمد الله تعالى الرحوم ويشكر. وكان يصلى دائماً

Cod. [1] سكاره [2] يكفاه [3] فبكيوا [4] اسفاه
[5] الجوار [6] الذى

يا سياف قم امضى اقطع عنق حيقار فى باب بيته وابعد راسه عن
جثته ماية ذراع. عند ذلك خر حيقار امام الملك وقال يعيش سيدي
الملك الى الابد وان كان تريد قتلي يكون اختيارك. وانا اعلم
ان ليس لى ذنب لكن يتطالب الردى برداه. ولكن يا سيدي
f. 91a الملك ارجو منك ومن صداقتك تاذن السياف ان يعطى جسدي
لعبيدي حتى يدفنوه ويكون عبدك فداك. قام الملك امر السياف
ان يفعل به كما يريد. فللوقت امر الملك لغلمانه ان ياخذوا
حيقار والسياف ويمضوا به عريان ليقتلوه. فلما تحقق حيقار بقتله.
ارسل الى زوجته يقول لها. اخرجى القاى ومعكى الف بنت بكر
ولبسيهم ثياب الارجوان والحرير حتى يبكوا على قبل موتي
واصنعى للسياف مايدة والى غلمانه. [1]وامزجى خمراً كثير حتى
يشربون. ففعلت جميع ما امرها. وكانت حكيمة ماهرة عاقلة جداً
وقد حوت جميع الادب والمعرفة. فلما وصلوا جند الملك والسياف
وجدوا المايدة موضوعة والخمر والمواكيل المفتخرة وابتدوا فى
الاكل والشرب حتى انهم شبعوا وسكروا. فاخذ حيقار السياف وانعزل
f. 91b ناحيه من الجماعة وقال يا ابو سميك ما تعلم لما اراد سرحادوم
الملك ابو سنحاريب يقتلك. فاخذتك واخفيتك فى مكان الى ان يرد
غضب الملك ويطلبك. فلما احضرتك قدام الملك فرح فيك والان
اذكر الجميل الذى صنعت معك. وانا اعلم ان الملك سيندم علي
[2]ويغتاظ [3]غيظاً عظيم لقتلي. لان ليس لى ذنب فتكون اذا احضرتنى
قدامه فى منزله فتلقى خيراً عظيم فاعلم ان نادان ابن اختي قد
غشنى وصنع معى هذا الصنيع الردى وسيندم الملك على قتلي والان

[1] Cod. وامزحى [2] Cod. وبغظاد [3] Cod. غيظان

له نادان نظرت يا سيدي الملك ما فعل هذا الاليم ولاكن لا
f. 90a تغتاظ ولا تغتم ولا تتالم بل امضى الى بيتك واجلس على
كرسيك وانا اجيب لك حيقار مكتف مقيد بالسلاسل واطرد عدوك
عنك بلا تعب. فعاد الملك الى كرسيه وهو مقهور من حيقار وما
فعل معه شى. ومضى نادان الى حيقار وقال له والله يا خالي.
لقد فرح بك الملك فرحًا عظيمًا وشكرك حيث صنعت ما امرك به.
والان لقد ارسلنى اليك ان تطلق العساكر الى حال سبيلهم [1]وتمضى
انت اليه مكتف اليدين ومقيد الرجلين لينظروا رسل فرعون ذلك.
ويبقى الملك مهاب عندهم وعند ملكهم. [2]فاجاب حيقار وقال السمع
والطاعة. وقام من ساعته وكتف يديه وقيد رجليه. واخذه نادان
ومضى به الى عند الملك. فلما دخل حيقار على الملك سجد
امامه على الارض ودعى الى الملك بالعز والادام. فقال الملك يا
حيقار كاتبي وولى امري وخاتم سري ومدبر دولتي وقل لى ماذا
f. 90b صنعت معك من القبيح حتى انت تجازيني بهذه الفعال السمجة.
ثم ارواه المكاتيب بخطه وختمه. فلما نظر حيقار ذلك رجفت
[3]اعضاءه وانعقد لسانه للوقت ولم بقى يقدر يتكلم [4]كلمة من خوفه
بل انه اطرق راسه فى الارض وسكت. فلما نظر الملك ذلك تحقق
الامر انه منه صار هذا الشى فقام للوقت وامر ان يقتلوا حيقار
ويضربوا عنقه بالسيف خارج المدينة فصرخ نادان وقال يا حيقار
يا اسود الوجه ايش [5]نفعك فكرك وحيلتك فى فعل هذا الفعل مع
الملك. قال الراوى وكان اسم السياف ابن سميك. فقال له الملك

[1] Cod. وتمتضى [2] Cod. فجاب [3] Cod. عضاه
[4] Cod. كلمته [5] Cod. نقعك

نسرين حتى اسلم اليك المملكة بلا حرب ولا قتال. وكان خط نادان يشبه خط خاله حيقار. ثم ان طوى الرسالتين وختمهم بخاتم خاله حيقار. واما هم فى دار الملك. ثم مضى ايضاً وكتب رسالة من عند الملك الى خاله حيقار السلام والتمام على وزيري وكاتبي [1]وخاتم سري حيقار وان يا حيقار فى حين وصول هذه الرسالة اليك اجمع كل العسكر الذى عندك ويكونوا عندك كاملين الكسوة والعدد واتينى يوم الخميس الى بقعة نسرين وحين ترانى هناك اتى اليك واجعل العسكر يهيج مقابلى مثل عدواً يقاتلنى لان عندى رسل فرعون ملك مصر حتى ينظرون قوة عسكرنا ويخافون منّا لانهم اعدائنا ومبغضيننا. ثم ختم الرسالة وارسلها الى حيقار مع واحداً من غلمان الملك. واخذ الرسالة الاخرة [2]التى كتبها وعرضها على الملك وقراها عليه [3]واراه الختام. فلما سمع الملك ما فى f. 89 b الرسالة حار حيرةً عظيمة واغتاظ غيظاً عظيم شديداً وقال ايا [4]اريت علمي ايش فعلت انا مع حيقار حتى كتب هولا الرسايل الى اعداي هذه مكافاتي منه واحساني عليه فقال له نادان لا تغتم ايها الملك ولا تغتاظ بل انّا نمضى الى بقعة نسرين وننظر الخبر هل هو حقيق ام لا. فقام نادان يوم الخميس واخذ الملك العساكر والوزير وانطلقوا الى [5]الصحر الى بقعة نسرين. فنظر الملك واذا حيقار والعسكر مصفوفين. فلما نظر حيقار واذا الملك قد اقبل واشار الى العسكر ان يهيج الحرب ويضربوا مصاف مع الملك كما وجد فى الرسالة وهو لا يعلم ايما بيراً حفر له نادان. فلما نظر الملك فعل حيقار اخذه القلق والدهش والحيرة واغتاظ غيظاً عظيماً فقال

[1] Vel كاتم [2] Cod. الذى [3] Cod. واوراه [4] Cod. ريت [5] Cod. السخر

يملكه خاله حيقار. فلما نظر حيقار ان ليس له شفقة على عبيده وعلى بيته فقام حيقار فطرده من بيته وارسل اعلم الملك به انه بدد مقتناه ورزقه. فقام الملك ودعى نادان وقال له ما دام حيقار طيب فلا [1]يتسلط احداً على ماله ولا على بيته ولا على مقتناه [2]فارتفعت يد نادان عن خاله حيقار وعن جميع ماله وبقى لا يدخل ولا يخرج ولا يسلم عليه. عند ذلك ندم حيقار على تعبه مع ابن اخته نادان وبقى حزين جداً. وكان الى نادان اخاً اصغر منه يسمى بنوزردان فاخذه حيفار اليه عوض نادان ورباه واكرمه غاية الاكرام وسلم اليه جميع ما يقتنى وجعله مدبر بيته. فلما نظر نادان ما قد صار اخذه الحسد والغيرة وبدا يشتكى لكل من يساله f. 88b [3]ويهزا بخاله حيقار ويقول ان خالي قد طردنى من بيته وقدم اخي علي. ولكن ان قدرنى الله تعالى لارميه فى محنة للقتل. وبقى نادان يتفكر لخاله فى عثرة يصنعها له. فبعد مدة من الزمان افتكر نادان فى باله وكتب رسالة الى اخيش ابن شاه حكيم ملك العجم يقول فيها هذا

السلام والتام والعز والاكرام من سنحاريب ملك اتور وننوى ومن عند وزيره وكاتبه حيقار اليك ايها الملك الجزيل السلام بينى وبينك. وان فى وصول هذه الرسالة اليك تقوم وتجى عاجلاً الى بقعة نسرين واتور وننيوى حتى اسلم اليك المملكة بلا حرب ولا مصاف وكتب ايضا رسالة اخرى باسم حيقار الى فرعون ملك مصر سلام بينى وبينك ايها لملك المعظم وان فى حال وصول هذه الرسالة اليك تقوم وتجى الى اتور وننوى الى بقعة f. 89a

[1] Cod. يتصلط [2] Cod. فرتفعت [3] Cod. ويهزوا

62 يا بني لا تقوم مقابل رجل فى ايام رياسته ولا النهر فى ايام زيادته.

63 يا بني لا تسعى فى زواج حرمة ان كان صارت بخير تقول ربي طعمنى وان كان صارت بشر تدعى على الذى كان السبب.

B. M. MS. f. 190 b

64 (يا بني كل من هو بهى فى لبسه. هكذا هو فى كلمته. ومن هو ارى حقير فى لبسه هكذا هو فى كلمته.)

65 يا بني ان سرقت سرقة فاعلم بها السلطان واعطيه منها [1]جزو حتى تخلص منه والا فتقاسى المرارة.

f. 87 b

66 يا بني صاحب لمن تكون يده شبعانة ممتلية ولا تصاحب لمن تكون يده منقبضة جيعانة. اربعة لا يثبت فيها ملك وعسكره عسر الوزير وسوء التدابير وخبث النية وظلم الرعية. واربعة لا تختفى العاقل والاحمق والغنى والفقير.

Salh. p. 5

قال فلما تم حيقار هذه الوصايا والامثال الى نادان ابن اخته [ظن فى باله انه قد] حفظ هذه الوصايا جميعة وما علم انه يباديه عوض ذلك بالتعب والشتيمة والمسبة. عند ذلك جلس حيقار فى بيته وسلم الى نادان كل ماله والعبيد [2]والجوارى والخيل والمواشى وغير ذلك من جميع ما يملك ويقتنى وبقى الامر والنهى فى يد نادان وجلس حيقار فى بيته يستريح وبقى حيقار فى كل مدّة من الزمان يمضى يسلم

f. 88 a

على الملك ويعود الى بيته. فلما علم نادان بان الامر والنهى بقى فى يده هزل بحال حيقار وشتم عليه وبدا [3]يذمه[3] اينما يحضر ويقول ان خالي حيقار بقى خرفان وما بقى يعرف شي وبدا يضرب العبيد [2]والجوارى ويبيع الخيل والجمال ويتصرف فى كل ما

[1] Cod. جزو [2] Cod. والجوار [3] Cod. لين ما

50 يا بني مال قليل اخير من مال مبدد.

51 يا بني وكلب حي اخير من انه يكون ميت انسان فقير.

52 يا بني انسان فقير يعمل خير اخير من غنى ميتاً بالخطايا.

53 يا بني احفظ الكلمة فى قلبك يكون لك جدّاً واياك ان تكشف سر صاحبك.

54 يا بني لا تخرج الكلمة من فمك حتى تشاور قلبك. ولا تقوم بين المخاصمين لان من كلمة السوء تكون الخصومة ومن الخصومة يكون الحرب ومن الحرب يكون القتال فتلزمك الشهادة لاكن انت فر من هناك [1]واسترح.

55 يا بني لا تقوم مقابل من هو اقوى منك بل اقتنى لك الروح الطويل والاحتمال والمشية الصالحة لان ليس شيا افضل منها.

56 يا بني لا تبغض صاحبك الاول لان الثانى لا يدوم.

f. 87 a 57 يا بني افتقد المسكين فى ضيقته وحدث عنه قدام السلطان واجتهد ان تخلصه من فم السبع.

58 يا بني لا تفرح فى موت عدوك لانك بعد قليل تكون جاره ومن هزا بك وقره واكرمه [2]واسبق عليه السلام.

59 يا بني ان كان الماء يقف فى السماء وغراب [3]الاسود يبيض والمر يحلا مثل العسل فالجهلة والحمقا يفهمون ويتحكمون.

60 يا بني ان اردت ان تكون حكيم فاضبط لسانك من الكذب ويدك من السرقة وعينيك من نظر السوء عند ذلك تدعى حكيم

61 يا بني دع بضربك الحكيم بعصاة ولا يدهنك الجاهل بدهن الطيب كن متواضع فى [4]شبوبيتك فتكرم فى شيخوختك

1 Cod. واستريع 2 Cod. واسيق 3 Cod. الاسد 4 Cod. شيبوبتك

40 يا بني اكلت العلقم وبلعت الصبر فما وجدت امرّ من الفقر والقلة.

41 يا بني علم ابنك الضيق والجوع حتى يحسن تدبير بيته.

42 يا بني لا تعلم الجاهل كلام الحكما لانها ثقيلة عليه.

43 يا بني لا تكشف حالك لصاحبك ليلا تكون عنده خسيس.

44 يا بني عما القلب اصعب من عما العينين لان عما العين يهتدى قليل قليل واما عما القلب لا يهتدى بل يترك طريق المستقيم ويمضى فى طريق [1]الاعوج.

45 يا بني [2]عثرة الانسان برجله اخير من [2]عثرة الانسان بلسانه.

46 يا بني الصديق القريب اخير من اخ بعيد واحسن.

47 يا بني الحسن يبلى والعلم يبقى والدنيا تزول وتبطل والاسم الجيد لا يبطل ولا يزول.

48 يا بنى رجل ليس له راحة موته اخير من [3]حياته وصوت البكاء f. 86 b اخير من صوت الغناء لان الحزن والبكاء فيهم مخافة الله اخير من صوت الغناء والفرح.

B. M. MS. f. 189 a

49 (يا ولدى كرعة فى يدك اخير من وز فى قدر غيرك ونعجةً قريبك اخير من ثور بعيد وعصفورٌ حقير فى يدك اخير من الف عصافيرً طايرين ومسكنةً تجمع اخير من رزق كثير وهو يتبدد. وتعلب حى اخير من اسد ميت ووزنة صوف اخير من وزنة مال اعنى ذهب وفضه. لان الذهب والفضة يطمروه ويغطوه فى الارض ولم [4]يترای. والصوف يبقى فى الاسواق [5]ويترای. ويكون جمال لمن يلبسه)

[1] Cod. الاوج [2] Cod. عثرت [3] Cod. حياتها
[4] Cod. يترايا [5] Cod. ويترايا

29 يا بنى كن كالشجرة المثمرة على جانب الطريق وكل من يمر ياكل من ثمرها وحيوان البرية يستظل تحتها وياكل من ورقها.

30 يا بنى كل غنمة تسرح عن طريقها وارفاقها تصير ماكلة الذئب.

31 يا بنى لا تقول سيدي احمق وانا حكيم. ولا تحدث كلام جهل. وحماقة. ليلا تكون عنده مرذولاً.

f. 85 b 32 يا بنى لا تكون من العبيد الذين يقولون لهم اسيادهم اخرجوا عنا بل كن من الذين يقولون لهم ادنوا وتعالوا الينا.

B. M. ms. f. 187 b 33 (يا بنى عبدك قدام رفيقه لا تحبه. لانك ليس تعرف اى منهم [1]اكثر لك فى الاخير.)

34 يا بني لا تختشى ربك الذى خلقك ليلا يسكط عليك.

35 يا بني حسن كلامك وحلى لسانك ولا تترك رفيقك يدوس على رجلك ليلا يدوس مرة اخرة على صدرك

36 يا بني اذا ضربت الحكيم بكلام حكمة يبقى فى قلبه مثل حمية رفيعة. واذا ضربت الجاهل بعصاة لا يفهم ولا يسمع.

37 يا بني اذا ارسلت الحكيم فى حاجتك لا توصيه كثير [2]لانه يقضى حاجتك كما تريد[2] واذا ارسلت الاحمق لا توصيه بل امضى انت واقضى حاجتك ولو [3]انك وصيته ما يقضى كما تريد. اذا ارسلوك بحاجة فعدد بقضاها عاجلاً

38 يا بنى لا تعادى رجل اقوى منك لانه يوزن وزنك وينتقم منك.

39 يا بني جرب ابنك [4]وغلامك قبل ان تسلم لهم رزقك ليلا يذهبوه

f. 86 a لان من يده ممتلية يدعى حكيم ولو كان احمق جاهل ومن يده فارغة يدعى مسكين جاهل ولو كان راس الحكما.

1 Cod. اكثار 2–2 Cod. واقضى حاجتك انت 3 Cod. لانك

4 Cod. واغلامك

20 يا بني رجل الذى يخاف الله اخاف انت منه واكرمه. f. 84 b

21 يا بنى الجاهل يقع ويعثر. والحكيم ولو عثر ما يتزعزع ولو ان وقع يقوم عاجلاً واذا مرض يقدر يعالج روحه. واما الجاهل الاحمق ليس لدائه [1]دواء.

22 يا بنى اذا استقبلك رجل اقلّ منك استقبله وانت قايم. فان لم يكافيك هو. ربه يكافيك عنه.

23 يا بنى لا تعفى عن ضرب ابنك فان ضربة ابنك مثل الزبل للبستان ومثل ربط [2]فم الكيس ومثل رباط البهيمة ومثل غلق الباب.

24 يا بنى اضبط ابنك من الشرور. وادبه قبل ان يتمرد عليك ويهينك بين الناسى ويحنى راسك فى شوارع [و]المحافل وتتعاقب انت فى سوء اعماله الردية

25 يا بنى اقتنى ثور مربوع ذو اغلاف وحمار كبير الحوافر: ولا تقتنى ثور قرنانى ولا تصاحب رجل راقى ولا تقتنى عبد حراب ولا جارية سراقة لان كل شي تسلموه لهم يهلكوه.

26 يا بني لا تدع والديك يلعنوك فيستحب الرب منهم لانه قد قيل f. 85 a من يشتم ابوه وامه موتًا يموت اعنى موت الخطية ومن يكرم والديه يطول عمره وحياته وينظر كل خير.

27 يا بنى لا تمشى فى طريق بغير سلاح لانك لا تعلم متى يلقاك العدو لكى تكون مستحضر اليه.

28 يا بنى لا تكون كالشجرة العريانة بغير ورق ولا [3]تنمو بل كن كالشجرة المجللة بورقها واغصانها لان الرجل الذى ليس له امراة ولا اولاد فهو معيرة فى الدنيا وممقوت عندهم شبه الشجرة التى ليس لها ورق ولا ثمر.

[1] Cod. دوى [2] Cod. تم [3] Cod. تنموا

11 يا بني احنى راسك الى اسفل ولين صوتك [1]وكن متادب واسلك
في سبيل الصلاح ولا تكون سفيه: ولا ترفع صوتك اذا ضحكت
Salh. p. 4 [2][لان لو كان بالصوت العالى يُبنى بيتاً كان الحمار يبنى كل
f. 84 a يوم بيوتاً كثيرة] (ولو كان بقوة شديدة كانت الفدّان تسوق ما
B. M. MS. f. 185 a كان ابعدت الفدّان من تحت اباط الجمال.)

12 يا ابني نقل الحجارة مع رجل حكيم اخير من شرب الخمر مع
رجل [3]اليم.

13 يا بني اسكب خمرك على قبور الصالحين. ولا تشرب مع اناس
جاهلين وقحين.

14 يا بنى التصق فى اناس حكما يتقون الله. وكن مثلهم ولا تقرب
الجاهل ليلا تصير مثله وتتعلم طرايقه.

15 يا بنى اذا اقتنيت صديق او صاحب جربه. وبعد ذلك صادقه
وصاحبه وبغير تجربة فلا تحمده ولا تفسد كلامك مع رجل غير
حكيم.

16 يا بني ما دام فى رجلك خفا امشى به على الشوك واعمل
طريقاً لبنوك وبنى بيتك وبنيك وعدل سفينتك قبل ان تدخل الى
البحر وامواجه [4]وتغرق ولا تقدر ان تخلص

Salh. p. 4 17 [يا بنى الغنى اذا اكل الحيّة يقولوا من حكمته واذا اكلها
رجل فقير يقولوا الناس من جوعه]

18 يا بنى اقنع فى رزقك ومالك ولا ترغب فى شى غيره.

19 يا بنى لا تجاور الاحمق ولا تاكل معه خبز ولا تفرح فى
اسيات جيرانك واذا اساء اليك عدوك باديه بالحسان

[1] Cod. وكون *passim* [2] In margine [3] Cod. الاليم [4] Cod. وتفرق

يخدمك كما ينبغى له. عند ذلك حلف له الملك ان يجعله اكبر محبيه. واعز اصدقاه ويكون عنده فى كل اكراماً [1]ووقار. فقبل اياديه ودعى له. واخذ نادان ابن اخته معه واجلسه فى قاعة وبدا يعلمه فى الليل [2]والنهار حتى اشبعه حكمة ومعرفة. اكثر من الخبز والماء. هكذا يعلمه ويقول له

1 يا بني اسمع كلامي واتبع رايي واذكر قولي.

2 يا ابني ان سمعت كلمة دعها تموت فى قلبك. ولا تكشفها لغيرك ليلا تصير جمرة وتحرق لسانك. وتجعل فى جسدك الالم وتكسبك العار وتخزى من الله ومن الناسى.

3 يا ابني اذا سمعت خبر لا تفشيه. واذا نظرت شي لا تحكيه. f. 83 b

4 يا ابني سهل خطابك للسامع ولا تبادر برد الجواب.

5 (يا بني اذا سمعت شيً لا تخبيه.

6 يا بني عقدً مختوم لا تفك اى تحل. وعقدً محلول لا تختم.)

7 يا ابني لا تشتهى حسن البرانى لانه يزول ويعبر. والذكر الصالح يدوم الى الابد.

8 يا ابني لا تخدعك امراةً [3]سفيهة بكلامها. ليلا تموت [4]ايشم موته وتعرقلك فى المصيدة حتى تنصاد.

9 يا ابني لا تشتهى امراة مزخرفة بالثياب والادهان وهى فى نفسها وقحة [3]سفيهة. واياك ان تطيعها بشياً يكون لك. او تسلمها ما فى يدك فتجيبك الى الخطية. ويغضب الله عليك.

10 يا ابني لا تكون مثل شجرة اللوز لانها تورق قبل كل الاشجار واخر الكل تطعم. بل [5]كن مثل شجر التوت الذى تطعم قبل كل الاشجار واخر الكل تورق.

[1] Cod. واوقار [2] Cod. والانهار [3] Cod. سفيها

[4] Cod. يايشم [5] Cod. كون *passim*

لاجل ذلك تبقى بلا ولد [1]طول عمرك بل خذ نادان ابن اختك
واجعله لك ولداً. وعلمه علمك وادبك. وهو يدفنك عند موتك. عند
ذلك اخذ نادان ابن اخته. وكان صغير يرضع فسلمه الى ثمانية
مرضعات ليرضعوه ويربوه. فربوه بالاكل الطيب والتربية اللطيفة
والكسوة [2]الحريرة والارجوان والقرمز. وكان جلوسه على الطنافس
الحرير. فلما كبر نادان ومشى ونمى مثل الارز العالى علمه الادب
والكتابة والعلم والفلسفة. فلما كان بعض الايام نظر سنحاريب
f. 82b الملك الى حيقار فراه قد بقى شيخ كبير. فقال له ايضا يا صاحب
المكرم الماهر الامين الحكيم المدبر كاتبي ووزيري وخاتم سري
ومدبري. ها قد كبرت وطعنت فى السن. وقد قرب وفاك من هذا
العالم. [3]فقل لى من يقوم فى خدمتي بعدك فقال له حيقار.
يا سيدي يعيش راسك الى الابد. هو ان نادان ابن اختي
قد اتخذته لى ولداً. وربيته وعلمته حكمتي ومعرفتي. فقال له
الملك يا حيقار احضره قدامى لانظره فان وجدته لايقاً فقيمه
موضعك. وانت اطلق سبيلك لتمضى تستريح وتعيش باقى عمرك
طيب مستريح. حينئذٍ مضى حيقار واحضر نادان ابن اخته. وسجد
له ودعى له بالعز والاكرام. فنظر اليه فاعجبه وفرح به. وقال الى
حيقار هذا ابنك يا حيقار. اطلب من الله ان يحفظه. وكما انت
خدمتنى وخدمت ابي سرحادوم كذلك يكون هذا ولدك يخدمنى
f. 83a ويقضى مصالحي وحوايجي. وشغلي حتى اكرمه واعزه لاجل
خاطرك. فسجد حيقار للملك وقال له يعيش راسك يا سيدي الى الابد.
اريد منك انك تطول روحك على نادان ولدي وتسامح غلطاته حتى

[1] Cod. وطول [2] Cod. الحرير [3] Cod. فقول *passim*

حيقار ونادان

f. 81 a بسم الله الخالق الحي الناطق وبه نبتدى بعون الله تعالى وحسن توفيقه ونكتب خبر حيقار الحكيم وزير سنحاريب الملك

ونادان ابن اخت حيقار الحكيم

f. 81 b كان وزيراً فى ايام الملك سنحاريب ابن سرحادوم. ملك اتور ونينيوى رجل حكيم يُقال له حيقار وكان وزير الملك سنحاريب له مالاً جزيل. ورزق كثير وكان ماهر حكيم [1]فيلسوف ومعرفة وراى وتدبير. وكان قد تزوج من النساء ستين امراة وبنى لكل واحدة منهم قصر. ومع هذا كله ولم يكن له ولداً من جميع هذه النسوان حتى انه يرثه. وكان كثير الهم لاجل ذلك وانه ذات يوم [2][جمع] المنجمين والعرافين والسحرة واحكى لهم حاله وامر عقورته فقالوا له امضى اذبح للالهة [3]واستغاث بهم لعلهم يرزقوك ولداً ففعل كما قالوا له وقدم القرابين للاصنام واستغاث بهم وتضرع بالطلبة والدعا فلم يجيبوه بكلمةٍ واحدة فخرج حزين [4]كإيب وانصرف متالم القلب ورجع بالتضرع الى الله تعالى وامن واستغاث به بحرقة

f. 82 a القلب قايلاً يا الله تعالى يا خالق السماوات والارض. يا خالق الخلايق كلها. اطلب اليك ان تعطينى ولدً حتى اتعزى به ويحضر موتي. ويغمض عيناى ويدفنّى. عند ذلك اتاه صوت يقول له حيث انك اتكلت اولً على الاصنام المنحوتة وقدمت لهم القرابين

[1] Cod. فيلفوس [2] In margine [3] Cod. واستفيت [4] Vel. خايب

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